THE

BRITISH REVIEW,

AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

MAY, 1816.

Art. XII.—THE HISTORY OF PERSIA.

1. *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India; comprising a View of the Afghaun Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy.* By the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, of the Honourable East India Company's service, resident at the Court of Poona, and late Envoy to the King of Caubul. 4to. pp. 696. London, 1815. Longman and Co. and Murray.
2. *The History of Persia from the most early Period down to the present Time; containing an Account of the Religious Government, Usages, and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom.* By Colonel Sir John Malcolm, K.C.B. K.L.S. Late Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, from the Supreme Government of India. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1815. Murray.
3. *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, accompanied by a Map.* By John Macdonald Kinneir, political Assistant to Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm, in the Mission to the Court of Persia. 4to. pp. 494. London, 1813. Murray.

OF all the objects of human attention, the human mind itself is the noblest; because it involves the knowledge which most deeply concerns the welfare of mankind. By tracing the various circumstances with which, in different ages and countries, it has been surrounded; by observing the impressions which it has thence received, the powers which it has acquired, and the happiness which it has been enabled to enjoy, we derive information respecting the highest practical concerns, both of public and of private life. It is

this which renders the history of distant ages, and distant countries, of use, beyond the gratification of a frivolous curiosity: it is this alone which renders it either useful or gratifying to explore the scanty materials of history, furnished by rude nations; whose records are so imperfect, and transactions so much alike; so much, too, the fruit of rude and vulgar passions, that a single specimen affords an adequate conception of the general order of their historical events, and leaves nothing but repetition and dulness to a more copious detail. But when the mind of the historian penetrates beyond the surface of vulgar occurrences, and seeks to discover minutely the circumstances which affect the condition of human nature, the circumstances which favour or obstruct the growth of its powers, increase or diminish its enjoyments, exalt or depress it in the scale of being, or in the scale of happiness; then it is that the circumstances of every people, in the most obscure corner of the globe, in the highest, or in the lowest stage of society, become eminently instructive. These are the materials, when properly examined, distinguished, and arranged, from which we derive propositions for the right construction of governments, and the right ordering of human life. It is from these explorations we rise to the general discovery of the grand causes on which the good and the evil of human nature depend. From these we learn what is to be done to advance the powers, the dignity, the happiness, of our kind: from these we learn the course of procedure which infallibly renders the species weak, contemptible, and wretched.

The new powers of navigation, and the increased intercourse among nations, which distinguish modern from ancient times, have contributed greatly to increase our knowledge of all the varieties of circumstance in which human nature can be placed. Unhappily, philosophy has not kept pace with these its advantages. The knowledge of the grand causes on which the powers and happiness, the weakness and miseries of human nature, depend, has not been properly extracted and displayed. As yet these causes have not been fully, clearly, and distinctly, drawn forth from the mass of materials in which the knowledge of them lies involved; and still less has that knowledge been adequately diffused among the body of mankind. In our own country, a few of the more enlightened and philosophical individuals may have ideas on the subject not far distant from the truth; but the great majority even of those who pass for persons of education and instruction, have minds which hardly ever have reflected on the grand causes of human good and evil; or have viewed them only through the medium of ignorance and prejudice. There is no subject, on which, either in private conversation or public discussion, we less frequently meet with

rational opinions; no subject on which we are more sure of meeting, either with a perfect vacuity of ideas, or a collection of inveterate and cherished mistakes.

Asia, the greater part if not the whole of Asia, has been placed, from the earliest periods of which we have any record, in circumstances the operation of which upon human nature is in the highest degree remarkable; and which have this additional and important feature, that they are and have been very much the same in rank, in character, and in effect; both from country to country, and from age to age. Asia, therefore, is a distinguished portion of the field in which the knowledge of human nature is to be collected. The circumstances of Asia are a most important portion of the materials from which that knowledge is to be extracted. And the extraordinary connection which the British nation has formed with a part of Asia has afforded remarkable opportunities for making us acquainted with every thing by which, in that quarter of the globe, the happiness or misery of the human race has been determined.

It is to be mentioned, to the honour of the regulations which the East India Company have introduced into the government of India, that so many of the agents of that government have appeared, with minds so much elevated and refined, as to have the ambition of contributing their contingent, a large contingent, to the extension of knowledge; and with gifts and acquirements enabling them to appear in the ranks of literature with so much credit and so much advantage. Where is the government, not of present only, but of former times, the servants of which, in any thing like the same proportion, have shown themselves capable of feeling the same honourable ambition; or of fulfilling its demands if they had experienced the impulse? If we compare the number of the public servants in England to the number in India, to whom during the last thirty or forty years the world is indebted for instruction, we shall be astonished at the paucity of the one, the multitude of the other.

Another circumstance which distinguishes the Company's government is, that of these instructors of mankind a much greater proportion has belonged to the military than to the civil department. Between the mother country and the colony the case in this particular has been completely reversed. The officers of the British army have not been remarkable for rising above the better part of their countrymen in knowledge and intellectual accomplishments. Of all the scenes through which the British army has passed during the last hundred years, for how small a portion of knowledge are we indebted to the officers of that army! Of the knowledge, on the other hand, which has been so liberally and happily poured upon us from

India, the portion is small which we have not derived from the gentlemen of the Company's army. That it is in the constitution of this army, and not in the circumstances of the country that we are to look for the cause of this, experience has fully proved; for a proportion of the army employed for the military service of the Indian government has long consisted of royal, that is, ordinary British troops; yet, amidst the useful productions which have so numerously flowed from the pens of the Company's officers, we can hardly at the present moment call to memory a single page of instruction conveyed to us from India by any officer of the king. This is not a trivial fact.

It is remarkable how fully the superior talents of the military, above the civil servants of the Company, have been recognized by the ablest of the Company's governors. Marquis Cornwallis and Marquis Wellesley made choice almost uniformly of military officers for every arduous service, even of the civil description, which arose in the course of their administration. For all the more difficult negotiations and embassies military officers were preferred. And even for the collection of the revenue, when a new country was acquired, and a new order of things was to be introduced, Lord Cornwallis declared that he could find none but gentlemen of the army whom he could employ with any prospect of success.

Of the information which hitherto we have derived from our countrymen in Asia, the greater part has been confined to that portion of it which lies to the southward of the grand chain of mountains which give birth to the great rivers of Asia, the Indus, the Ganges, the Boorhanpooter, the Oxus, and Jaxartes; and which separates the southern, or what is vulgarly called the lower, from the northern, or what is called the upper, portion of Asia. The progress of inquiry, and the enlargement of the connections of the British government in India, have at length brought other parts of Asia under the view of the company's servants; and the three works which we have placed at the head of this article are among the honourable fruits of their observation.

We have considered them as all belonging to the same subject; for though Caubul, just at this present moment, is under a separate government from Persia, yet very often they have only formed parts of one extensive empire; sometimes Persia having given a sovereign to Caubul, and sometimes Caubul to Persia. The state of government, of religion, of knowledge, is nearly the same in both, as also the condition of human nature upon the whole; making allowance for little more than the physical diversities of moun-

tain or plain, and the concomitant circumstances of the agricultural or pastoral life. The most important point of view under which the three books can be regarded is, that they afford us a new and valuable stock of materials, for ascertaining the circumstances in which human nature is placed in one remarkable division of Asia; the qualities which those circumstances have impressed upon the human mind; and the dignity or meanness, the happiness or misery, which is the natural result. It is in this point of view chiefly that we shall consider them.

Colonel Sir John Malcolm is one of those meritorious officers whom, for their superior accomplishments and superior abilities, the Marquis Wellesley, with that discernment which rarely failed him in the choice of his instruments, selected for the performance of the most difficult services which occurred in the course of his administration. When, by a policy on which we shall not here make any remarks, it was resolved to form a political connection with Persia, this gentleman, who was distinguished for his knowledge of the language, whose abilities had been tried in several important services, and whose political views corresponded exactly with those of the Governor-General himself, was the person chosen to fill the office of ambassador to the court of the Persian Shah.

"During the last fifteen years, I have three times," he tells us, "visited Persia in the charge of political missions, and I have for almost the whole of that period been entrusted with the conduct of the negociations between that state and the British government in India. The nature of my public employment, which led to my travelling over almost all the provinces of Persia, gradually improved the knowledge I had before possessed of that kingdom and its inhabitants, and a sense of duty, as well as the natural curiosity which I felt of investigating the state of a country so imperfectly known to Europeans, equally urged me to endeavour to amass useful information of every description: whilst it may be easily conceived that the diplomatic character, with which I was invested, greatly facilitated my progress in the attainment of this object."

The work, however, which Sir John Malcolm has thought proper to bestow upon the public is not exactly of that species to which the advantages of an eye-witness, and an eye-witness so peculiarly favoured, were the most conducive. He has not given us a description of the actual state of that people; a description which might have been valuable at once for its accuracy and completeness; a description which could be afforded us only by an eye-witness, and an eye-witness possessed of the advantages which Sir John Malcolm enjoyed; a description from which we might have derived a perfect knowledge of the condition of human nature in that

country, and the circumstances which operate to exalt or degrade it. Instead of this, he has chosen to bestow upon us a *history* of Persia; in other words, an account of the order of succession in a long list of names, which stand as the names of kings, with a set of actions respectively attached to them, more or less numerous; but almost always of that monstrous and vulgar description, whence but little instruction or amusement is capable of being derived. Such, in a few words, is the ordinary matter of Persian history; and such, in general, is the ordinary historical matter of all countries, in the same low and imperfect state of civilization.

It would not be just, indeed, to say, that the work for which we are now indebted to the talents and industry of Colonel Malcolm, and his meritorious and honourable ambition to contribute to the information of mankind, derives no excellence from his local knowledge and official advantages. But this we may very confidently say, that it contains very little useful information, which might not have been conveyed into it by a man who never travelled out of England; provided only he was sufficiently acquainted with the Persian language to peruse Persian books. Colonel Malcolm professes little more than to give us the results which may be gleaned from the historical writers in the Persian tongue; and though he is in possession of some few manuscripts which are not common, he does not pretend to say that they afford information of any peculiar value, or that he has added any thing of much importance to that which any other man, equally qualified for the task, might not collect from the writers which are common in the East.

Mr. Elphinstone, the author of the work on Caubul, as far as an individual instance can extend, redeems the civil service of the Company from the imputation to which it seemed to be liable, of producing nobody qualified either for difficult political service, or for contributing to the great public treasury of knowledge. The author of the account of the kingdom of Caubul would be reckoned a man highly gifted, in any situation, or among any description of men. Mr. Elphinstone shows much discernment of what is the principal object both of statistical and historical inquiry, at least in remote places and times; namely, to ascertain the condition of human nature, and the circumstances by which it is determined.

The work of Mr. Elphinstone differs from that of Sir John Malcolm in this, that the work on Caubul is not historical but descriptive. The author, instead of giving us information which other persons as well as he might extract from books, has told us what he himself heard and saw; and, respecting what was

removed from his own observation, he has bent his efforts to obtain, by the advantage of his situation, information which his countrymen by no other means could procure. His grand object was to give us a picture, as complete as possible, of the actual and present condition, physical and moral, of the region of Caubul, the country and nation of the Afghauns.

His residence in the country was short, and the portion of it which circumstances permitted him to traverse or behold was but small. He had an opportunity, however, of beholding its court, of conversing with a great variety of the most distinguished of its inhabitants, and of learning much respecting the modes of their thinking and acting: he was indefatigable in his inquiries; he was well seconded by his agents; he was skilful in giving them employment; and the quantity of information which he was enabled to collect, respecting those points which are the most interesting in the condition of a people, information which bears internal marks of its own correctness, is surprisingly great. Before we received the present valuable work, the people inhabiting the mountainous region on the eastern side of Persia, a people who have borne so great a part in the history of Asia, and have given kings both to Persia and to India, were almost totally unknown. We heard of them only through the vague notices of the historians of Persia, and of India, who spoke of little but their warlike exploits, either in defence of their own independence, or for the invasion of their neighbours. By men, whose national pride they had wounded, and who possessed by inheritance the antipathy which hostile ravages had inspired, the Afghauns were represented as fierce and detestable barbarians, destitute of every virtue, and characterized by every vice. Of the particulars of their condition it was vain to look to sources like these for any information; and our best conceptions were drawn by inference from what we knew of the nations by whom they were surrounded, and whom in their circumstances it was rational to believe they must of necessity resemble. We are now happily favoured with more specific intelligence; we are made acquainted with so much of the circumstances, both physical and moral, in which the Afghauns are placed, and of the qualities which these circumstances have impressed upon their minds, that little more is wanting to complete, with respect to them, that knowledge which is contributary to the great purposes of true philosophy.

After an interesting journal of the progress of the embassy, of which he was at the head, from Delhi to Peshawer, and back again, Mr. Elphinstone begins by describing the position of Afghaunistaun upon the globe. For this purpose details of

considerable extent are required: for us it will be sufficient to point generally toward the spot. On the western side of the Indus is situated a mountainous country, extending southwards about half way between its sources and its mouths, and westwards rather more than half way between that river and the Caspian Sea. This, without consulting accuracy, may, in a general way, be regarded as the country of the Afghauns. In the most flourishing times, and under the most powerful sovereigns of Persia, Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great, and the first Caliphs, Afghaunistaun was reckoned one of the provinces of the great Persian empire. During the intermediate periods of relaxation and decline, when the more distant provinces generally threw off the yoke, the hardihood common to mountaineers, and the strength of their country, made the Afghauns among the foremost to assume independence. Finally, about the beginning of the last century, when the power of the Suffavean dynasty was in its decline, a chief who had united the Afghauns in their own defence, was enabled to triumph over the Persian monarch, and to seat himself on his throne. The Afghauns did not hold the sovereignty of Persia long; but since that time no king of Persia, except Nadir Shah, has possessed sufficient power to bring their independence into hazard; their government has possessed the form of an eastern monarchy; and has repeatedly acquired a power which alarmed the sovereigns both of Persia and of India.

Sir John Malcolm, it is probable, was led to give us an historical, rather than a statistical, work, upon Persia, because the condition of Persia, physical, moral, and political, has become a beaten subject; and he found there was little, in addition to what had been stated by his predecessors, which it would be in his power to supply. If this be understood to be the case, it is highly satisfactory to have received the history with which he has so meritoriously favoured the public. If not very valuable for what it does tell us, it is valuable (if we may be allowed a paradoxical expression) for what it does not tell us. It is a valuable proof that nothing remains to be told. No one, after that Sir John Malcolm has gone over the Persian materials of Persian history, will pretend that from that source any thing more is to be derived. We are now acquainted with the whole value of the Persian historians; and that is an advantage of some importance; for not many persons, especially among gentlemen who have contracted partialities in the East, would have easily admitted the fact of the scantiness of the information which they contain. Sir John, though not a bigot, is of course partial to the authors who furnish the materials of his work, and labours to make the most of what they present to him. But it must in

truth be confessed, that he has after all done little more than confirm the most unfavourable of the accounts which had been rendered of them before. Mr. Richardson, a man eminently acquainted with Persian literature, and with a mind better versed in criticism than Sir John Malcolm's, treats the historians of Persia as merely authors of romances, and romances of a weak and contemptible kind. Comparing the Greek and native accounts of Persian transactions, "there seems," he says, "to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire." He asserts, that the names and the numbers of the kings, as exhibited by the historians of the two countries, have no analogy. "No mention," he says, "in the Persian annals, is made of the great Cyrus, nor is there any king the events of whose reign can by any violence be tortured into a resemblance to his. No trace," he adds, "can be found of Crœsus, of Cambyses, or of his expedition against the Ethiopians; none of Smerdis Magus, or of Darius Hystaspes; not a vestige of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa, or Mycale, nor of the mighty expedition of Xerxes. Of one of the best attested events in all history, namely, the expedition of the younger Cyrus, he declares that no account is to be found in the Persian annals." What may challenge, perhaps, a still greater portion of surprise, "So little," says Mr. Gibbon, "has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation."*

The story of Alexander the Great, as given by the Persian historians, is thus presented by Mr. Richardson: Darab, king of Persia, made war upon Philip, of Macedon, and forced him to take refuge in a forest. Peace was granted to Philip, on the hard conditions of giving his daughter to Darab, and paying annually a thousand eggs of gold. Darab was so little pleased with the Grecian princess, that he sent her back to her father. She was at that time pregnant, and soon after produced a child, the son of Darab: he it was who became the great Alexander, and ascended the throne of Persia, by inheritance, rather than conquest. The immediate successor of Darab was a weak and vicious prince, who so disgusted the nation that the nobles of Persia joined in requesting Alexander to assert his right to the throne. He ceased the payment of the eggs: the king marched against him, and joining in battle, was mortally wounded by his attendants, who meant to assassi-

* History of the Decline and Fall, &c. ch. 10.

nate him in his tent. Alexander, who condemned the action, hastened to his relief, when the dying monarch named him his successor, requesting him to govern Persia by its own nobles; an injunction which he punctually obeyed.

Sir John Malcolm presents the story considerably softened:

"The reign of Darab the First was distinguished by several wars; particularly one against Philip of Macedon, whom Persian authors denominate Phillippoos of Room. Though this was at first unsuccessful, the historians of Persia state, that its termination was glorious; but this is evidently the foundation of a fable, which their national vanity has led them to form respecting the birth of Alexander. They affirm, that Philip was ultimately reduced to such distress, that he was glad to extricate himself by agreeing to give his daughter to Darab, and to pay that prince an annual tribute of one thousand eggs of pure gold. Darab the First reigned only twelve years. Darab the Second was, according to the report of Persian authors, the opposite of his father: he was deformed in body, and depraved in mind; and his bad administration, if they are to be believed, completely prepared the way for the success of Alexander. But the Persians have always had the same character; and it cannot be surprising, that a nation distinguished for their vanity should have given their consent to any fable, however improbable, which palliated the disgrace of the conquest of their country. It is to this feeling that we must ascribe their tales respecting the descent of Alexander. That conqueror is described as a son of Darab the First; who, aided by the Persians themselves, easily possessed himself of a crown which was his right, and which was weakly defended by his unpopular and unworthy brother. Several, however, of the most respectable Persian historians reject this fable, and admit that Alexander was the son of Philip. The quarrel between the two states, we are told, originated in Alexander's refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs, to which his father had agreed. *The bird that laid the eggs has flown to the other world*, is reported to have been the laconic answer of the Macedonian prince to the Persian envoy who demanded the tribute. After this, Darab sent another ambassador to the court of the Grecian monarch, whom he charged to deliver to him a bat, a ball, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud. The bat and ball were meant to throw a ridicule on Alexander's youth, being fit amusements for his age: the bag of seed was intended as an emblem of the Persian army being innumerable. Alexander took the bat into his hand and said, This is the emblem of my power, with which I shall strike the ball of your monarch's dominion, and this fowl (he had ordered one to be brought) will soon show you what a morsel his numerous army will prove to mine: the grain was instantly eaten up, and Alexander gave a wild melon to the envoy, desiring him to tell his sovereign what he had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which would enable him to judge of the bitter fate that awaited him."

This passage would afford a text for many comments, of which we must content ourselves with a very limited number. When Sir John Malcolm says that the Persian character is so made up of mendacity and vanity that their historians may always be expected to adopt any fable, however improbable, that serves to palliate national disgrace, or, which is the same thing in other words, to support a claim to unmerited glory, it is wonderful he did not perceive that he destroyed their whole title to credit, and represented as perfectly worthless every thing which they say. It may now be stated, upon the authority of Sir John Malcolm himself, that he has given himself the trouble to compose a large book, containing little more than the stories of persons who may be always expected to falsify, as often as they have any motive to do so.

When he says that several of the most respectable of the Persian historians reject this fable, and quotes a title, he is guilty of great omission, in not giving us the date of the work; because, if it be recent, it only proves that the intercourse of the Persians with the Europeans has made them ashamed of some of their most glaring fabrications.

In this respect Colonel Malcolm exposes himself to a very severe reflection. One of the grand distinctions between ancient history and modern history, that is modern history in its highest and most instructive form, consists in the spirit of criticism which pervades the one, and the general want of it in the other. The judgment which the modern historians think themselves bound to exercise over the sources of their information; and the admission which they hold themselves bound to afford their readers into the reasons and causes of the sentences which they pronounce, the selections and rejections which they finally adopt, advance their pretensions very high above the ancients in every thing but the stile and eloquence of history.

In no other case was this great duty of the historian more indispensable than in Sir John Malcolm's history of Persia. The book was addressed to a people who knew little or nothing of the authorities from which he professes that almost every thing is derived. A proportion of his authorities consist of writings not generally known even to the Persian scholar, and which the peculiar opportunities of Sir John Malcolm enabled him to pick up: but so little was he able to appreciate the critical duties of the historian, that he gives not even the bibliography of the works which he consults, of many of which nobody knows any thing but himself. Yet on a part of the very same ground over which he travels, he had an admirable specimen of those virtues which are so vehemently desiderated in himself. We allude to the well known work, the *Histoire critique de Manichée, et du Manicheisme, par M. de Beausobre;*

into which it is probable that Sir John Malcolm has never looked. That writer had to inquire into the ancient philosophy and ancient religion of the Persians; but he does not take for granted every thing which he finds written in an oriental book; he looks at his authorities on all sides; he brings light from all possible quarters to enable him to look at them with more success; he sifts them to the bottom; he compares what they state with the probabilities of the case, with the principles of human nature, and with what is stated in other quarters: he compares one part of what they state with another; he explores the condition of their minds, the stage of civilization at which they were placed, the circumstances by which they were surrounded, their capacity of knowing the truth, and the probability of their delivering fairly or unfairly that which they knew. These are some of the duties of the critical historian; but few of them seem to have entered into the conception of an historian which Sir John Malcolm has formed.

We know not that much light could have been conveyed to the world by the exercise of the most enlightened criticism in the exploration of the Persian historians. But of this we are abundantly certain, that still less can be conveyed by transcribing their tales without criticism.

We are by no means disposed to assign a low value to that which Sir John Malcolm has performed. We honour the man who says to himself, I will give to the world the information I have collected, such as it is. If it adds, in any degree, to the existing stock of knowledge, the world is his debtor; and we are ready to pay him our contingent of gratitude and applause. Sir John Malcolm may at any rate say; I had it in my power to lay before my countrymen, more completely than had yet been done, all that the Persians themselves relate of their own history; this I have performed: and what the Persians themselves relate of their history, it is at any rate of some importance to know. We allow it to be a thing of considerable importance, though not exactly in the way which Sir John Malcolm conceives. Sir John gives it as history, and sets a considerable value upon it as such: we regard it as a species of matter from which something of history may be inferred. We value but little, we must confess, the Persian historians as authorities in matters of fact; but they are, without knowing it, and without intending it, valuable documents for ascertaining what is in their country the state of the human mind.

It is true that Colonel Malcolm devotes a chapter to "General Reflections on the Religion, History, Antiquities, and Character of the Inhabitants of Persia, before the Mahomedan conquest;" in which he says, "it will be useful to examine into the nature and merits of those authorities from which the pre-

ceding account of Persia has been given." Of the contents of this chapter it will be requisite to give some account. "Our knowledge," says the author, "of that part of the history of Persia which precedes the reign of Kaiomurs, the first prince of the Paishdadian dynasty, rests upon the authority of the Dabistan, a Persian work; containing an account of twelve religions, written about a century and a half ago, by a native of Cashmere." A history of the earliest ages of Persia by a Cashmerian, a century and a half ago, is not a work to which much respect would seem to be due; but "this work, we are told, is taken from ancient Pehlivi manuscripts, and from verbal communications which its author asserts he had with Persians who still continued to profess, in secret, that religion which their ancestors had followed previous to Zoroaster." As for the verbal communications, and the traditions retained among the Parsees, they are evidently of little value as historical monuments; history is not in this manner preserved. With respect to the Pehlivi manuscripts we know nothing of them, and without laying down ignorance as the ground of our belief, can allow them no authority. Besides, "the extravagant number of years," says our author, "assigned to the several dynasties, and the character of the few events that are recorded, make us suspect that the historical part of this work is a mere fable, allusive to the early condition of mankind." Sir John Malcolm further informs us; "I have never been able to hear of the existence of any work in the ancient Pehlivi that would be deemed historical. Sir John Chardin informs us that Abbas the Great made every possible search after manuscripts in that language, and that he actually put one of the priests of the Guebers to death in consequence of his disappointment. The collection made by this monarch amounted to twenty six volumes; and Chardin informs us that they were lodged in the Royal Library at Ispahan. The respectable Traveller gives us a plate said to be taken from these volumes; it only exhibits a specimen of the Kufic and Arrowheaded characters. He also states that a Gueber read to him for three months out of a book relating to their religion and usages, said to have been written in the time of Yezdijird. I can have no doubt that this was one of their books of Rowayat or Ordinances, of which the Gueber priests at Yezd, and at Bombay, have several." If any thing beyond mere religious prayers and ordinances existed in Pehlivi, it is not probable that it resembled any thing but the Pooranas of the Hindus; a set of monstrous fables, in which gods and mortals play a mingled and ridiculous part.

According then to Sir John himself, for the early part of the Persian history there is no Persian document whatsoever.

The Persians give us no account, which is worthy of one moment's attention, of what in distant ages took place in their own country: but a considerable portion of the first volume of Sir John's work is occupied in giving us a repetition of their wretched fables. For all, indeed, that preceded the Arabian conquest, it appears that we have not any other authority but tradition, since the Arabians destroyed all the written memorials of the nation. Had they been very numerous this would not have been easy, or indeed possible. Of the only species of books which existed in any considerable number, namely, religious books, a portion was preserved; and if no history escaped, it may be suspected, as we find there was no historical writing among the Hindus, a people in the same rank of civilization, that till that era nothing existed in Persia to which the name of history can rationally be applied. This conjecture would have considerable force, were it not for two passages in the book of Esther, in our Bible, in which mention is made of a practice of writing the deeds of the Persian kings in a book, entitled the Chronicles of the Kings of Persia and Media. All the historical matter which is necessarily implied in the expressions there made use of will not, however, appear to be of much account. Such a chronicle, if we suppose it to exist, would exhibit only the praises of the man under whose power it was written; and our Birth-day Odes probably contain more of history than the Chronicles of the Persian Kings. The hero, of course, would possess fabulous virtues, virtues celestial and above mankind: and then, by a sort of necessity, fabulous actions must be ascribed to him in order to correspond. On these supposed chronicles it is evident that no conclusion can be reared; because, if they were kept secret in the archives of the king, every monarch had it in his power, and many would feel the motive, to obliterate the praises, and alter the lying record of preceding reigns; if they had been made public, and copies of them multiplied, they could not all have been so completely destroyed.

That the ancient history of Persia consisted of poetical and fabulous stuff, is strongly confirmed by a particular fact. A king gave orders to collect whatever it was possible to find of the ancient books. When the supposed historical matter was surveyed, to what purpose was it supposed to be applicable? To the formation of any thing like an historical record? Quite the contrary. It was given to Dukiki to make an epic poem; and he dying before the poem was completed, the task was finally accomplished in the Shah Nameh, or Book of Kings (an expressive title which may help us to conceive what is meant by "the Chronicles of the Kings of Persia") an

enormous poem, written under the auspices of Mahmoud of Gizni, by the celebrated poet Ferdosi.

The Dabistan, therefore, and the Shah Nameh, are the only Persian authorities for the whole of the Persian history that precedes the Arabian conquest. In other words, there is no Persian history before the Arabian conquest, except what is to be derived from the writers of Greece.

Colonel Malcolm makes some judicious reflections on the supposed civilization of ancient Persia.

"We are apt," says he, "to conclude that there are sufficient traces left to warrant a belief that its inhabitants were well advanced in all the arts of civilized life, and that they enjoyed, under the rule of some of their ancient kings, a happiness and prosperity far beyond what they have ever since experienced. This opinion has been so generally adopted, that it would almost appear presumption to doubt its correctness; but truth can never suffer from inquiry or discussion, and there is no part of history of more consequence than that which relates to the government and manners of the nations described. Many arguments to support the assertion of the former civilization and prosperity of Persia are founded on the extent and magnificence of their edifices; but let us recollect, that amid the ruins with which that country is covered, we find few that were dedicated to purposes of real *public utility*. The polished fragments of vast palaces, and the remains of flattering sculpture, prove only that there were rich and powerful monarchs, not that they had happy or civilized subjects. The object of ambition among all eastern kings is to enjoy grandeur, and to have a great name. Their grandeur is comprised in their personal state and magnificent palaces, their fame is conquest. It is evident that to effect such objects, whatsoever may be his personal character, a monarch must be absolute, and his subjects strangers to freedom."

It is highly gratifying to find British education, British intelligence, and lastly British virtue, so far prevailing over the habits of a life spent under military law, and under the influence of oriental manners, and oriental government, as to represent the *freedom of the people*, and *the prosperity of the state*, as convertible terms; and works of *utility*, not of *gaudy expense*, as marks of civilization. A generous love of liberty, indeed, vents itself in more than one of the pages of the present work. "It is more useful," he says, "to contemplate despotism in its naked deformity, than when half concealed by a veil of glory. The picture may disgust, but that sensation proves that the lesson is conveyed; and the English historian of a nation like Persia can have no nobler object than that of giving a faithful representation of scenes, which must, by the contrast they exhibit in the condition of a great community, render those who live under a just and free government still more sensible

to the value of the greatest of all human blessings." The spirit of this is admirable; and in the sense in which he says it is more useful to contemplate despotism in its naked deformity, than when half concealed with a veil of glory, we entirely concur; because then it is sure of exciting the disgust which it always deserves, but which it is so apt, when cunningly veiled, to escape. For this very cause, however, it is most useful, in another sense, to contemplate despotism under its most artful and deceptious forms; to put mankind on their guard against those disguises by which they may be gradually cheated out of their rights, and deprived of those securities for good government, on which all the happiness, all the intelligence, all the virtue of human beings, and all the ornaments of human society essentially depend. Against despotism in its perfect shape, and in its truest colours, mankind have little or no occasion to be warned. The despotism which affects not to be despotism, the governments which dare not as yet to show the spirit of despotism, but are in progress towards the consummation of despotical power, are the governments by which a mischievous delusion is practised upon mankind.

From the era of the Mahomedan conquest, the common ordinary facts of Persian history are sufficiently known. Of the authorities it may be proper to give the character which our author presents.

"In the modern part," he tells us, "of Persian history we cannot complain of the want of materials; but the best Mahomedan authors are only entitled to the character of good annalists. They give the occurrences of the year with exactness, and sometimes enliven the record with a few characteristic anecdotes of the monarchs whose histories they write; but, though their stile is often remarkable for its perspicuity, and the facts they state may be depended upon (unless when writing of those princes under whose protection they lived), their page can seldom boast of much interest. A Persian author, it is true, is in general exempt from a political bias; and though his volume may have the colour of his religious feelings, it is never written to support any system, and can therefore hardly ever mislead: but this negative merit arises out of the scenes amid which he lives, and the actions which he has to detail. Asiatic historians seldom speculate upon changes in the manners of men in the frame of society, or in the form of governments; they are entire strangers to the science of political economy, and never reason upon any subject connected with the rise or fall of nations, except with reference to the personal character of their rulers. It must be obvious that such writers, though they may be more free from error, can never attain any portion of that excellence which belongs to those who, living under happier auspices, have mixed the wisdom of philosophy with the facts of history, in a manner which has enabled them to instruct future ages by their narration of the events of the past."

This is not very discriminating, to speak of it in the gentlest terms; for it applies with just as much accuracy to the monkish historians of England, as to the Mahomedan historians of Persia. Are the monkish historians of England and the Mahomedan historians of Persia writers of exactly the same description? Certainly not; the differences are remarkable. This is, therefore, a very defective account of the distinguishing properties of the authors from whom Colonel Malcolm has drawn the materials of his Persian history. The most notorious and vulgar facts are all that could be known with any degree of precision, either to the monkish historians, or the writers followed by Colonel Malcolm; and we may be sure that it is only the vulgar aspect of them, the representation which prevailed in the community, that is, the representation which it was the interest of the ruling party to disseminate, which we have almost always received from their pens. But the imagination is a much more prevalent faculty with the Asiatic historians, than with those of the middle ages in Europe. The love of the marvellous has a far more predominating influence in Asia, than it had in Europe, in the period of its thickest darkness; the motions of the fancy are much more readily substituted for realities among the people of the east than the people of the west. The love of exaggeration is universal among the writers of Asia; they pay little attention to dates, and it is the mere outline of history, the most common and notorious facts, that one can expect to be given with any tolerable precision. The cases are rare in which you can rest with much confidence on the whole even of the outline which they present.

The most valuable part of Sir John Malcolm's work is that which relates to the more recent times. Of these even such an outline as can be drawn from Mahomedan historians is useful; from the connexion subsisting between the events which have recently taken place in that empire, and the interests of the British nation in the contiguous region. In that period, too, the deficiencies of the Persian writers are to a considerable degree supplied by the labours of Europeans, who have visited the country and communicated to us the result of their observation and inquiries. Our information, therefore, with respect to the state of Persia, the condition of human nature in that country, and the complexion, at least, of the events to which for a time it is likely to give birth, is now at last to a considerable degree accurate and complete.

Mr. Elphinstone, paying but little attention to the *history* of the Afghauns, to which, except for part of the last century, little attention was due, has directed all his endeavours to make

us acquainted with their actual condition. The information with which he has supplied us is more valuable than that of Sir John Malcolm, on this account, that we had less knowledge previously of Afghaunistaun than of Persia, and that the Mahomedan historians, both of Persia and of India, from whom chiefly we had our scanty information, combined in propagating a false account. They combined in representing the Afghauns as differing remarkably from their neighbours, both in Persia and India, in civilization and all good qualities. This is the sort of accuracy and fidelity with which, if we get nothing else from the Persian historians, we may, according to Sir John Malcolm, expect from them a dry statement of facts. It was not difficult for a mind, versed in the critical art which in Europe has been successfully applied to the elucidation of history, to infer the inaccuracy of this representation; and to conclude with some assurance, that the civilization of the Afghauns did not materially differ from that of their Mahomedan neighbours. But we remained without information respecting the minute diversities which probably distinguished them from all other combinations of mankind, and which seldom fail to distinguish more or less the inhabitants of one province from another, even under the same laws and the same government.

Mr. Elphinstone has divided his work into five parts. In the first he performs the geographical description of Afghaunistaun: in the second he gives an account of the inhabitants, comprehensively and generally: in the third he exhibits them as divided into tribes, which are distinguished by considerable diversities: in the fourth he describes the provinces which, without being a part of Afghaunistaun, have become subject to its government: and in the fifth he makes us acquainted with their political institutions and laws. Several articles are subjoined in an Appendix: the first, a history of the kingdom of Caubul, from the foundation of the Dooraunee monarchy, the only period of which the history is of much importance or well ascertained; the second, a narrative of a person of English extraction, a native of India, who travelled in Afghaunistaun; the third, an account of some adjoining countries; the fourth, a memoir on the construction of the map; and the fifth, a vocabulary of the Pushtoo language.

On the geography it is not consistent with our limits to enlarge. By the labours of Mr. Kinneir, whose memoir and map afford a valuable addition to our knowledge, and deserve more of the gratitude of the public than they have received, together with the well-directed and successful researches of Mr. Elphinstone and his associates, we now have a knowledge, not only correct as far as it goes, but to a great degree minute, of the

geography of the whole of the great region comprehended between the Indus and the Euphrates. As a matter of liberal curiosity, this is highly agreeable and useful. It contributes to render us more familiar with the circumstances of a portion of our fellow-men. In the military point of view, in which minute geographical knowledge is of the highest importance, we sincerely hope that we shall never have occasion to profit by these researches of our countryman; but inasmuch as they may aid the commercial intercourse of nations, they cannot fail to be regarded as of immediate practical utility.

In describing the inhabitants of Afghaunistaun, their character and condition, it is necessary, first of all, to consider the remarkable division by which they are distinguished into the people who live in houses, and the people who live in tents. The former are the inhabitants of towns and villages, and generally the cultivators of the ground; though Mr. Elphinstone says there are instances in which the people still adhere to their tents, though they have betaken themselves to agriculture, and renounced the migratory life. He justly remarks, that this appears to be an intermediate stage, between the period when migration is made with the seasons and a spot of ground cultivated at the summer station, and the period when durable houses are built. The other class of inhabitants, those who live under tents, are shepherds and wanderers, conveying their flocks and herds wherever convenience for pasturage is most liberally presented. "Those who live in tents," says Mr. Elphinstone, "are chiefly to be found in the west, where they probably amount to one half of the population; but as all over the east the people live in houses, the proportion of that last class must greatly preponderate in the nation. It is probable," he adds, "that the number of those in tents has diminished; and I am of opinion that it is still diminishing."

It is remarkable that this feature of society, which would appear to indicate a very low stage of civilization, is common to the Afghauns with the Persians. The Persians are also divided into the wandering tribes, and the inhabitants of the cities and villages. It also appears that the proportion of the inhabitants in the nomadic state is still greater in Persia than Afghaunistaun. In Afghaunistaun it is much less than one half of the whole population: in Persia, says Mr. Kinneir, "the Illiats, or wandering tribes, probably *exceed* the number of those who reside in towns." *

In manners and character, the nomadic tribes of Asia are found throughout to possess a great resemblance. But those of

* Geog. Memoir, p. 44.

Afghaunistaun are so far from possessing any peculiar ferocity and barbarism, as they have been represented by the historians of Persia and India, that of all the nomadic tribes of Asia, not excepting the Arabians themselves, they appear to be, in no inconsiderable degree, the least odious; perhaps we ought to speak in other terms, and say, the most respectable. "Of the Persians who live in tents, or in their rude villages," Sir John Malcolm informs us, that "they continue in a state of the most barbarous ignorance." He even remarks that they are too gross and savage to be susceptible of the influence of such a religion as the Mahomedan; of their neglect of which he favours us with some curious anecdotes. "A Persian writer," he says, "who has related some curious facts on the manners of this class, states that, when a young man, he was saying his prayers at the appointed time before a person of the tribe of Shah Sevund. Observing that this man did not do the same, he asked him, if he never addressed the Almighty according to the forms prescribed by the holy prophet. I now and then bend my head and raise it again, was the reply, as I have just now seen you do; but I repeat no prayers, and never indeed learned any. The same writer informs us, that a citizen, who was the guest of a man of one of these tribes, to whom he had been useful in disposing of his sheep, when he began one morning, according to his usual practice, to read aloud a chapter of the Koran, was assailed with a stick by his female hostess, who asked him, in a rage, if he supposed one of the family was dead, that he thought it necessary to read that book. The husband, though he reproved the violence of his wife, told his friend that he should have known better than to anticipate misfortune, by going through a ceremony used only at funerals.—This rude race seldom receive any religious instruction. If a priest of a neighbouring village visits their tents and summons them to prayers, they listen to him with impatience; and, if any accident happens to their flocks while they are attending divine worship, they load him with abuse, and reproach him with being the sole cause of the misfortune."

It is not easy, within the limits to which we are confined, to exhibit a sufficient number of particulars to mark the state of society in which they are placed. We are told again by Colonel Malcolm, that "the wandering tribes of Persia are all plunderers, and that they glory in admitting that they are so. They are continually recounting their own successful acts of depredation, or those of their ancestors; and from the chief to the lowest man in the tribe they boast openly of deeds for which men would be capitally punished in a better ordered government. Every sentiment that escapes them evinces their attachment to their

predatory habits. They often regretted the internal tranquillity of their country, and speak with rapture of those periods of confusion when every man who (to use their own expression) had a horse, a sword, and a heart, could live in comfort and happiness."

On this remarkable characteristic an anecdote or two recorded by Colonel Malcolm are highly descriptive.

"I happened," says he, "when on the march towards the royal camp at Sultaneah, to ask a chief of one of these tribes, what ruins those were on the right of the road? His eyes glistened at the question. 'It is more than twenty years,' he said, 'since I accompanied my uncle in a night attack to plunder and destroy that village, and it has never been rebuilt. Its inhabitants, who are a bad race, and our enemies, have however settled near it, and are again become rich. I trust in God,' he added with emphasis, 'that the present tranquillity will not last; and if old times return I will have another blow at these gentlemen before I die.'"

Another story to the same purpose is given by Sir John in the following words:

"When hunting one day near the line of march, we came to a deep ravine, and as we were crossing it, an old Persian of the tribe of Lac, who was then in my service, turned round, and said to me with a smile, 'In this ravine, Sir, about twenty years ago, I, and ten others of my own tribe lay in wait for a caravan. We attacked them and killed five or six useless fellows of merchants and mule drivers. The rest ran away, and we found plenty of plunder. I lived gloriously,' he continued, 'for some years on the produce of the shawls that fell to my share; but all my cash is gone, and I am now a poor old fellow. Yet after all,' he added, 'it is some consolation to think that a man has had a share of the good things of this world.'"

Agreeably to the feelings of a rude people, who glory in almost any display of courage, they hate the name of thieves, while they are proud of that of plunderers. They are hospitable, and value themselves upon their fidelity when they accept of a trust, although atrocious instances of the violation of it are constantly occurring. They have no industry, except that of their women, by whom carpets are woven, which, added to the produce of their flocks and herds, are exchanged for the articles which they are accustomed to consume. "The time of the male part of the tribes in Persia is passed in riding, practising their military exercises, and hunting. Their fare is coarse and moderate; they now and then feast upon meat, but their general diet is a hard black bread, sour milk, and curds. They do not often indulge in intoxicating liquors; their chief delight is in sitting together, smoking their pipes, and in listening to songs and tales, or in

looking at the tricks, grimaces, and witticisms of buffoons." The wives among this people perform all the domestic services; the husbands, in ordinary times, only sauntering or hunting; but as there can be no seclusion where there is great poverty, the women enjoy a considerable portion of liberty.

It is not easy to select from Mr. Elphinstone particulars sufficient to characterize the wandering tribes of the Afghauns, and at the same time confined within a moderate compass: his book abounds in details, but seldom attempts the delineation of general and characteristic features. The western regions of Afghaunistaun, in which chiefly the shepherd tribes are dispersed, he describes as being, for the most part, high and bleak downs, interspersed with moderate hills, in some places desert, and in others ill-cultivated; bare, open, better fitted for pasturage than the plough, and much inhabited by shepherds in moveable camps. "The characters," says he, "of the hilly and plain countries run into each other; nor is there any more marked line of separation between the character of their inhabitants. Both are simple, honest, and peaceable; and though there is a difference in the degree in which those qualities are possessed by different tribes, there are none who would be remarkable among Asiatic nations for the want of them." This seems to distinguish them already as a far better people than the corresponding tribes of Persia.

Scattered over an extensive country, the western Afghauns, says he, are too distant from each other to acquire either the vices, or the habits of strife, which belong to a crowded population. "This thinness of the population, while it retards the progress of the arts of life, is doubtless equally effectual in checking the increase of the vices which abound in populous countries; and accordingly we find among the western Afghauns a sort of primitive simplicity, which reminds us rather of the scriptural accounts of the early ages, than of any thing which has been observed by moderns in nations where society is still in its infancy."

The camps of the shepherds consist of from ten to fifty tents; one hundred is a number unusually large. They pitch in one or two lines, according to their number and the nature of the ground. "In the winter season, they drive their flocks to a distance to pasture. In spring, when grass is plenty in all places, and the season for lambing renders it inconvenient to drive the flocks far from home, the shepherds break up their camps, and disperse over the country, pitching by twos and threes, wherever they meet with an agreeable spot. Many such spots are found in the beginning of spring, even in the worst parts of the Dooraunee country; and the neighbourhood of the high hills especially affords many delightful retreats in sequestered valleys, or in green

meadows on the borders of running streams. The delight with which the Dooraunees dwell on the description of the happy days spent in these situations, and the regrets which are excited by the remembrance of them, when in distant countries, can only be believed by those who have seen them; while the enthusiasm with which they speak of the varieties of scenery through which they pass, and of the beauties and pleasures of spring, is such as one can scarcely hear from so unpolished a people without surprise."

They have their social pleasures also. "Though their camps are so small, and situated in such retired situations, we must not suppose that their inhabitants live in solitude. Many other camps are within reach; and the people belonging to them often meet to hunt, by chance or by appointment. Sheep-shearing feasts, and ordinary entertainments, also bring men of different camps together; and they are, besides, often amused by the arrival of an itinerant tradesman, a wandering ballad-singer, or a traveller who avails himself of their known hospitality. They often invite each other to dinner at their camps, where the strangers repair in their best clothes, and are received with more ceremony and attention than is usual in the more familiar intercourse of immediate neighbours. On these occasions, companies of twelve or fifteen assemble to dine in the open air; pass the evening with part of the night in games, dancing, and songs; and separate without any of the debauchery, and consequent brawls, which so often disturb the merriment of the common people in other countries."

Of this people Mr. Elphinstone further says: "The Dooraunees have no feuds among themselves, nor with their neighbours, except in the south west; and consequently their only opportunity of showing their prowess is in national wars, in which their reputation has always stood very high.—They are all religious; there is not a village, or a camp, however small, without a Moollah. Yet they are perfectly tolerant even to Sheeahs."

We must content ourselves with a very few particulars more. "Wives are treated with kindness by their husbands; and it is not uncommon for a woman to have a great ascendancy over her husband, and even to be looked up to in the family for her wisdom. A lady of this kind assumed the absolute command of a caravan with which Mr. Foster travelled, and that gentleman profited in no small degree by her protection.—The men and women live and eat together when the family is by itself; but at their parties they are always separate. Their visitors, their sports, and all their meetings, are apart.—The hospitality so conspicuous amongst all the Afghauns is particularly so with the Dooraunees. Every stranger is welcome, wherever he goes. The smallest and poorest camp has its arrangements for the reception of guests, and the greatest nobleman is not exempted from the

necessity of providing food and lodging for all who approach his castle.—This hospitality is not limited to Afghauns, or even to Mahomedans. A Hindoo who came into a Dooraunee camp would meet with the same reception, although his religion would not allow him to eat with his entertainers, even if they had no scruples in his company."

This people, however, with so many qualities of an opposite description, are to a certain extent disgraced by the same predatory habits which prevail so much in the wandering tribes of the Persians, and seem to be common to all the nomadic people of Asia. "There is no point," says our author, "in the Afghaun character of which it is more difficult to get a clear idea, than the mixture of sympathy and indifference, of generosity and rapacity, which is observable in their conduct to strangers. In parts of the country where the government is weak, they seem to think it a matter of course to rob a stranger, while in all other respects they treat him with kindness and civility. So much more do they attend to granting favours than to respecting rights, that the same Afghaun, who would plunder a traveller of his cloak, if he had one, would give him a cloak if he had none. All the authentic accounts I have of the treatment of strangers by Afghauns, either in their own country or elsewhere, give an impression of philanthropy and politeness, when there was no temptation to depart from those principles. But, where there was any inducement to plunder the stranger, and even sometimes when much was to be gained by deceiving him, there was no great appearance of justice and good faith."

The following is an important circumstance:—"In all cases it must be observed to the honour of the Afghauns, that their robberies are never aggravated by murder. A man may be killed in defending his property, but he will not be put to death after he has ceased to resist."

On the character of the wandering tribes, both in Persia and Afghaunistaun, these particulars must suffice. A short comparison of the stationary inhabitants of the two countries, the inhabitants of houses, whether in villages or towns, will conclude an article which has been already extended to an inconvenient length:

Of the state of education, science, and the arts, among the stationary Persians the following is a short and not inaccurate description by Mr. Kinneir:—

"Education is exceedingly cheap; and yet arts, sciences, and learning have, comparatively speaking, made little or no progress. Children are taught at the schools, and afterwards at the *madrassas*, or colleges, to read and write their native tongue, Arabic, moral philosophy, metaphysics, and the principles of their religion. Some of these colleges are magnificent and richly endowed. They are built in a qua-

drangular form, with an open court in the centre, divided into a number of cells, which are appropriated to the use of the masters and their scholars. These colleges are principally indebted for their origin to kings and other great men, who look upon it as meritorious, in the eyes of God and the Prophet, to employ their wealth in pious and charitable foundations.

"Poetry and romance appear to be the favourite studies of all warlike and barbarous nations. An unsettled government and intestine broils, a love for military glory, and consequent admiration of great exploits, enliven, rather than repress, the brilliancy of the fancy; and it is, perhaps, partly owing to this circumstance, that the greatest of the Grecian, Roman, and Italian poets, flourished in the most turbulent and distracted times. The bard who accompanies his lord into the field can form no faint idea of the horrors of war; and the delineation of the strongest passions which act upon the human mind, drawn from experience and observation, must evidently bear the stamp of truth and nature. The poetry of the Persians, accordingly, abounds in the most sublime and varied images, as well as the most pathetic descriptions. Nor is, perhaps, the estimation in which many of these works are held inferior to their merit. There is no country (none, at least, with which I am acquainted) where so considerable a knowledge of their best writers in poetry descends even to the lowest classes of the people. Here it is not uncommon for a groom, or any other menial servant, to repeat long passages, with the utmost correctness, from their best poets.

"The most celebrated of the Persian poets are Sadee, Hafiz, and Ferdousee. The writings of Sadee inculcate the doctrines of morality. Hafiz, the Anacreon of the East, sings of love and wine; but many of his odes are received by his countrymen in a mystical sense, and are supposed to allude to the instability of earthly happiness, and the duties which mortals owe to their Creator. In the 'Shah Nama,' the great production of Ferdousee, the oriental scholar will discover passages which would not, perhaps, disgrace the most eminent classic authors. Many other poets, whose works are justly worthy of admiration, might be enumerated; but to enter on such subjects would be a task far beyond my abilities, and foreign to the object of this Memoir, which only aims at geographical illustration."

"In historical composition the Persians are entitled to little consideration. All their works of this nature have been composed since the days of Mahomet, and they are, with but few exceptions, written in an inflated style, full of exaggeration and embellishment. Nor can this be thought surprising in the court of a despot, where the historian is retained, purposely, by the prince, to transmit to posterity the glory of his own exploits. The present King, who, like his predecessors, assumes the pompous title of King of Kings, has the events of his reign regularly recorded by the royal historiographer. He is the least warlike prince who has sat on the Persian throne since the last of the Sefis, and yet, to read the history of his campaigns, a stranger would suppose him to have equalled, if not surpassed in military fame, the most admired commanders the world has ever produced.

"Some of the Persian romances, such as those of Ferhaud and

Shirin, Yusuf and Zooleikhah, &c. are exceedingly beautiful; but the greater number of the most entertaining stories have never been committed to paper, and are only known from oral tradition. Story-tellers are common in this country, and the King always keeps one to amuse his leisure hours. The same tale cannot, on pain of punishment, be repeated to him, and the story-teller is, in consequence, always employed in altering and composing. I have heard these people relate many of the stories mentioned in the Arabian Nights, together with a number of others, equally interesting. They were delivered with eloquence and fluency, and notwithstanding their extraordinary length, without the smallest hesitation.

"In regard to science, their information is very limited indeed. They possess some little knowledge of algebra and geometry, and the most learned, or rather those who impose on the multitude by an affectation of learning, pretend to be familiar with the writings of Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato, which have been translated into Arabic. Astronomy they esteem as the most sublime of all studies,* and their love for judicial astrology leads them to pay more attention to it than any other. They can take an altitude with tolerable accuracy, foretel the conjunction of the planets, and calculate eclipses. In physic and surgery they are grossly ignorant. Those, however, who style themselves physicians have no mean conception of their own talents, and are not sparing of their medicines. According to their theory, all diseases proceed either from too great a degree of heat or cold; and, in their opinion, the only difficulty is to ascertain from which of the two extremes the distemper has arisen. Dissection being contrary to the precepts of their religion, it is impossible that they can ever acquire any knowledge of anatomy.

"In sculpture and painting the Persians have at no time attained any degree of perfection. Even the figures at Persepolis, and other parts of the country, are deficient in taste and proportion; with the exception of some of those in the plain of Kermanshah, which I believe to have been executed by Grecian or Roman artists. Sculpture, indeed, seems now to be entirely forgotten; and I am not aware of having seen a single modern statue during the whole of my stay in that country. In their gaudy and insipid paintings neither nature nor taste are preserved; for, provided the colour be bright and varied, beauty or expression, in their estimation, is but a secondary object. They have not the slightest idea of perspective, and very little of light and shade. They take likenesses, however, with tolerable exactness, and excel more in portrait painting than any other. The skill of the artist is chiefly displayed in the embellishment of the walls and ceilings of the houses. Here we find represented either the popular story of Ferhaud and Shirin, or the battles and achievements of some of the greatest of the Persian kings; such as Shah Abbas the Great and Nadir Shah. In these representations the likenesses of the different princes are sometimes preserved; but the piece itself possesses but

* They are not acquainted with the Newtonian system, and possess the exploded notions of the ancients in these subjects.

little merit, and presents nothing to the view but a confused multitude of disproportioned figures of men and horses, huddled together in the most ridiculous manner. Several of the paintings in the grand hall of the palaces of the Chehel Sitoon at Ispahan, merit, however, a greater degree of attention; but they are also understood to have been the work of an European artist.

"In architecture, as well as sculpture, the ancient Persians would appear to have surpassed their descendants. Of this we have many noble specimens in the ruins of Persepolis, Shuster, the hall of Kungaver, and the remains of the palace of Chosroes Parviz at Ctesiphon. The chief ornaments of the modern buildings are the domes and minarets; and, considering the materials with which they are built, many of the colleges and mosques are large and magnificent structures. The grand mosque of Sultaun Khodabunda, in the plain of Sultanea, is particularly handsome, and many of the public edifices at Shirauz and Ispahan are well worthy of attention.

"The general outlines of all the cities in Persia are the same. They are surrounded by a mud, and sometimes a brick wall, flanked at regular distances with round or square towers. The streets are narrow and dirty, having a gutter running through the centre; and the houses, which are low, flat-roofed, and built of brick or mud, have each a small court surrounded by a high wall. They have seldom or never any windows to the street; and that part of the sitting-rooms which fronts the court is entirely open, with a large curtain to let down when the rooms are not in use. The palaces of the nobility, although mean in their exterior appearance, are both convenient and elegant within. They are divided into several courts, in the most retired of which is the haram, or apartments of the women. The centre court is usually square, divided into parterres of flowers, with a jet d'eau continually playing before the window of the dewan kana, or public hall. The walls and ceilings of this hall are adorned with a profusion of paintings, and inlaid with looking-glasses; the floor is covered with carpets and numuds; and one entire side of the room is taken up with large sash windows of painted glass. The apartments of the haram are frequently fitted up with great taste and magnificence, but the sleeping-rooms allotted to strangers are, in general, small. The bazars, or market-places, in some cities, particularly those of Lar and Shirauz, may be accounted handsome buildings, but the mosques, minarets, and colleges, are the chief ornaments of the Persian cities." (P. 47—53.)

Of the moral character and condition of the Persians of the towns, Colonel Malcolm gives us the following traits:—"The females of Persia, who dwell in towns, are usually placed in the situation of slaves." "In speaking generally," he says, "of the inhabitants of Persia, we may describe them as a handsome, active, and robust race of men; of lively imagination, quick apprehension, and of agreeable and prepossessing manners. As a nation they may be termed brave, though the valour they have displayed, like that of every other people in a similar condition of society, has, in a great degree, depended upon the character of

their leaders, and the nature of those objects for which they have fought. Their vices are still more prominent than their virtues. Compelled, by the nature of their government, to have recourse, on every occasion, to art or violence, they are alternately submissive and tyrannical. Many of their more serious defects of character may be attributed to the same cause; and there is, perhaps, no country in which so much of the immorality of its inhabitants can be referred to a bad system of internal administration." It marks strong powers of discernment in this author, to have (apparently without instruction,) discovered the connexion in Persia between the vices of the government and the immorality of the people. Had he been a little more deeply versed than his opportunities, and it may be his prejudices, allowed, in the conclusions of the moral philosopher, he would have known that this connexion is not confined to Persia, but universal, and that these evils are always in proportion to one another.

He tells us farther, that the Persians of the towns are sociable and cheerful, and, with some remarkable exceptions, as prodigal in disbursement, as they are eager of gain. The higher classes of the citizens of Persia are kind and indulgent masters, and the lower ranks are, as far as respects the active performance of their duty, and the prompt execution of the orders they receive, the best of servants. Agreeably to the manners which are formed under a pure despotism, there is little distance in the forms of behaviour between the master and the servant, and they live together on terms of familiarity, only permitted among equals, in countries where rank and subordination exist. There is no doubt that this is among the compensations which despotism affords.

"The falsehood of the Persians is proverbial; nor are the inhabitants of that country forward to deny this national reproach; but they argue that this vice appertains to the government, and is the natural consequence of the condition of the society in which they live; and there can be no doubt, that when rulers practise violence and oppression, those who are oppressed will shield themselves by every means within their power; and when they are destitute of combination and strength, they can only have recourse to art and duplicity."

Among the Afghauns, we are informed by Mr. Elphinstone that education, such education as is given in the east, is an object of great attention, and generally diffused. "There is a schoolmaster in every village and camp, who is maintained by a piece of land allotted to him, and by a small contribution which he receives from his scholars," an institution which may put to shame most of the countries of Europe, and among the rest the self-applauding England itself. "It is reckoned a good work in the sight of God to promote learning, and, consequently, besides the king's colleges, there is an establishment in every village for maintaining

students." The Afghauns have numerous poets and several historians. They have not the same reputation with the Persian; but, as Mr. Elphinstone informs us that they are more simple, they may very possibly in the east have less reputation without inferior merit. "The sciences are the same as those to which the Persians apply themselves. The way of studying them is as methodical as in other Asiatic countries." Mr. Elphinstone adds, "There is generally a want of ardour in pursuit of knowledge among the Asiatics, which is partaken by the Afghauns, excepting, however, in the sciences of dialectics and metaphysics, in which they take much interest, and have made no contemptible progress."

The Afghauns appear to have entered but little into competition in the manufactures and arts, though of one remarkable commodity of the east, especially of Persia, that is, carpets, Mr. Elphinstone says, "there is a kind made near Heraut which excels all I ever saw." There is no want of eastern magnificence in the dress and furniture of the great, though our author supposes it may be less than that of Persia. Their gardens, in which they delight, are distinguished for beauty. The system of agriculture is equal to that of Persia, or India; and the Afghauns have water-mills for grinding their corn, a step beyond the people of India, who still grind it by the hand.

"The manners of the Afghauns are frank and open. Though manly and independent, they are entirely free from that affectation of military pride and ferocity which is so conspicuous in their descendants, the Pitans of India. When their address is bad, it is rustic; but never fierce or insolent. About towns the Afghauns are, in some degree, polished, and show respect to superiors; but in many parts of the country they are plain, and make little distinction of ranks; they all, however, show great reverence for old age. Though the Afghauns have that ease of manner which strikes every observer in comparing the behaviour of Asiatics with that of Europeans, yet it is not uncommon to find them bashful, a defect which I have never witnessed in any other Asiatic. They are free from that puerility, which is, perhaps, the distinguishing characteristic of the Indians. I found their conversation and their inquiries, though not enlarged, always rational; and they did not seem much delighted with those baubles which generally form the most acceptable presents in India. The Afghauns are accused by the Persians of ignorance and barbarism. Stupidity is, indeed, the proverbial reproach of all Khorasaun. They certainly have neither the refinement nor the subtlety of their western neighbours, and their want of much intercourse with foreign nations undoubtedly narrows their views, and on some subjects contracts their understandings; but, from their state of society, in which every man is obliged to protect his own rights, and where he is at the same time of some importance to the community, their faculties must be a good deal exerted and improved; and accordingly the bulk of the people are remarkable for prudence,

good sense, and observation. They have also a degree of curiosity, which is a relief to a person habituated to the apathy of the Indians. They always showed a desire to be informed about the state of countries at a distance from their own, and some were very anxious to improve themselves by acquiring a knowledge of our sciences."

The following is discriminating and excellent:

"All communication with the Afghauns is rendered agreeable, by the dependance which can be placed on what they say. Though they are far behind Europeans in veracity, and would seldom scruple to deceive, if their own interest were to be promoted, yet they have not that indifference to truth, and that style of habitual and gratuitous falsehood, which astonishes an European in natives of India and Persia. A man of the first nation seems incapable of observing any thing accurately, and one of the second of describing it truly; but unless some prejudice can be discovered to mislead the observer, or some motive is apparent for misrepresenting the truth, one may generally rely on the Afghauns, both for correctness and fidelity."

The fact with which Mr. Elphinstone here shows his acquaintance, that there is a class of minds defective in so particular a way, that they cannot give a true representation if they would, is a fact of no inconsiderable extent. Every attentive observer must have met with instances of it in the inferior degrees among Europeans themselves; more numerously perhaps among those of the female sex, whose education is less favourable to habits of accuracy than that of the men; in some other nations of Europe, however, more frequently than in England, where the education, bad as it is, yet is less bad than any where else, and among the Persians and Indians, it really forms a national characteristic. The defect arises from a habit, which is easily acquired, and which, without correction, every body has more or less a tendency to acquire; a habit of supplying the defects of attention, either in observing or remembering, by the creations of the fancy. After a certain indulgence the habit becomes so perfect, that the offender is unable to distinguish what he invents, from what he has seen; and runs on, mixing together fact and fiction, unconscious, in a great measure, of the fault he commits. That this infirmity extends even to the writers of history in Persia and India, can only be doubted by those who have read their histories with a very superficial, or a very misguided, attention.

After describing the independent, and even republican state of the tribes, though all owning an allegiance to a king, and serving him in his wars, Mr. Elphinstone adds,

"The defects of this system are obvious; and when we come to observe in detail the anarchy and disorder which so often arise under the republican government of the tribes, we might be induced to

under-rate the quantum of happiness it produces, and to suppose that the country would derive more advantage from the good order and tranquillity which an absolute monarchy, even on Asiatic principles, would secure: but the more I have learned of the actual state of the Afghauns, the stronger is my conviction that such an estimate would be erroneous. We may easily appreciate the benefits of an exemption from the vexatious interference of the officers of a distant king; and from the corruption and oppression with which such interference is always accompanied in Asia. Nor must we, amidst the alarms and confusion which will be forced on our attention, overlook the partiality of the Afghauns for their present constitution; the occupation, and interest, the sense of independence, and personal consequence, which result from a popular government, however rudely formed; and the courage, the intelligence, and the elevation of character, which those occupations, and that independence, can never fail to inspire. The Afghauns themselves," he says, "exult in the free spirit of their institutions. Those who are little under the royal authority are proud of their independence, which those under the king, though not exposed to the tyranny common in every other country in the east, admire, and fain would imitate. They all endeavour to maintain that *all Afghauns are equal*, which though it is not, nor ever was true, still shows their notions and their wishes. I once strongly urged to a very intelligent old man of the tribe of Meeankhail, the superiority of a quiet and secure life, under a powerful monarch, to the discord, the alarms, and the blood, which they owed to their present system. The old man replied with great warmth, and thus concluded an indignant harangue against arbitrary power: 'We are content with discord; we are content with alarms; we are content with blood; but we will never be content with a master.'"

We have now exhibited as large a specimen as in our power, of the materials which are furnished by the authors before us, for ascertaining the state of human nature in the countries of which they treat; and the approximation to the same stage of civilization which is exhibited by the eastern and western inhabitants of that extensive and celebrated region. We have been obliged to abstain entirely from the account of the government, in either of the kingdoms: in the first place, because a general description of a despotism, of which the outline is familiar to all mankind, would be useless as well as tedious; and secondly, because we had no room for details. Of all the nations of Asia, however, the kingly power among the Afghauns is probably the least complete; and if the king is unrestrained by any participation of the powers of government, the principles of union in each of the tribes, and the spirit of independence in all of them, make it necessary for him to consult their inclinations in all that he does. Mr. Elphinstone thinks that so many of the materials of a good government exist in this community, that it would be an easy matter to graft upon them

a representative system, in a high state of perfection; but the chances against human nature, in respect to the reformation of governments, in more favourable situations than that of Afghaunistaun, are so numerous, that Mr. Elphinstone, while he contemplates the practicability, counts but little upon the probability, of so fortunate an event.

Art. XIII.—LIVES OF LUTHER AND MELANCTHON.

1. *The Life of Luther, with an Account of the early Progress of the Reformation.* By Alexander Bower. 8vo. pp. 484. London. Baldwin. 1813.
2. *The Life of Philip Melancthon, comprising an Account of the most important Transactions of the Reformation.* By F. A. Cox, A. M. of Hackney. 8vo. pp. 610. London. Gale, Curtis, and Fenner, &c. 1815.

To discover a regular perpetual motion is one of the most difficult, if not hopeless, speculations that ever occupied the human mind. No machine, either mechanical, ecclesiastical, or political, however promising in theory, has ever been found in real practice to persist for any very protracted period in steady, undeviating motion. Causes unanticipated, whether intrinsic, or extraneous, or both, have been uniformly found before long to impede the working of the most highly finished engines. No sooner has the first exciting cause been removed, than the tendency to stop has become apparent; and even long before that period arrived, new agents have generally impressed upon the machine such irregular and oblique impulses, that though it continued still to move, its tendencies and nature were completely changed.

Even in our own almost perfect political constitution we have occasional proofs of the tendency towards derangement; and more than once in our history have witnessed the intire system taken to pieces, the individual parts repaired and polished, and the whole re-organized according to some leading artist's view of the most appropriate model. Were we required to fix upon any machine of a moral kind which appeared, *à priori*, to approach most nearly towards the idea of uniform perpetual motion, we should undoubtedly point to that vast and wonderful system which the great Creator came upon earth personally to establish. Formed by the same skill and power which guide the celestial

luminaries, Christianity we might have expected would, like them, have constantly appeared to mankind pursuing a course of uniform brightness, and incapable of being deranged or impeded by those passions and prejudices, which, like baleful mists, hover around this sublunary world. We might have concluded that it would have been as impossible for any party of men to darken and pollute the face of the moral as of the natural sun, each of which was created for the most wise and important ends. These ideas would have been strengthened by reflecting, that Christianity, like its adorable Author, possessed a property inherent in no human institution,—that of being absolutely indestructible. That not a wheel, or spring, or pivot, of the vast machine, was capable of being oxydated by the foggy atmosphere with which it was surrounded.

The event has, however, by no means corresponded to the presumption; for scarcely was the stupendous system set in motion by the immediate power of its divine Author, and the subordinate agency of apostles, confessors, and martyrs, who, in their several spheres, impressed upon it that correct tendency from which they hoped it would never deviate, before it began to be clogged in its operations by sophistry, ignorance, and the most alarming superstition. Christianity itself could not indeed be deteriorated; it remained unaltered, and unalterable by human artifice or power; but being in some measure committed, at least in its exterior arrangements, to the ordinary confliction of events, the aspect which it assumed became indicative of their operation. The real doctrines and precepts of Revelation, and their genuine effects upon human character, were still the same; but by means of studious or involuntary suppression, addition, or perversion, they were rarely seen in their unsophisticated shape. Men judged of Christianity, as an untaught person would judge of a planet's orbit, by apparent and not real motion; and thus that brilliant star, though fixed and steady in itself, and kindly intended to guide us safely through the difficulties and dangers of a stormy world, was made seemingly to advance, stand still, or retrograde, by the ignorance or artifice of men.

During the dark ages it would have been difficult to recognize in the absurd and degrading superstition of the times the elevated and elevating religion of Him whose doctrines were as sublime as they were holy, whose injunctions were as rational as they were righteous. The fair face of the Gospel became covered with excrescences; and what materially added to the mischief thus produced, was that these worse than useless appendages were almost universally regarded as the most essential parts of the

system itself. The Church of Rome unceasingly, and even systematically, debased the religion which it professed to uphold, adulterating it with poisonous mixtures, and adding to it the absurdities of purgatory, pilgrimage, indulgence, or whatever else might be made to swell the pontifical revenues.

The important labour of removing these obstructions and defilements was reserved for the illustrious Reformer mentioned at the head of the present article; and to him, under Providence, are mankind chiefly indebted for the restoration of Christianity to a form almost as pure as it received from the hands of its all-perfect Founder.

Luther, however, though the chief, was not the sole agent in the work of reformation. He was allied to contemporaries who assisted his labours, and was followed by successors who professed to complete what he had left imperfect. Of the former class was the learned and amiable Melancthon, whose memoirs we have added to those of Luther, in order to lay before our readers a few detached remarks connected with the men themselves, and with the memorable reformation of which they were the instruments. As the life of Luther with which we have prefaced this article has been some time before the public, it would be scarcely proper to enter particularly into its merits; but the life of Melancthon, being a more recent publication, and possessing in itself considerable claims to notice, will demand somewhat more of our attention.

Mr. Bower's work is a plain unadorned narrative of facts. The writer appears to have detailed with faithfulness the eventful life of the great professor of Wittemberg, and has referred us almost page by page to his authorities for confirmation. He seems, upon the whole, attached to his hero; though he fully allows, and that in the most unsparing terms, his errors of temper and of judgment. He has, however, confined himself to what may be called a secular and matter-of-fact life of Luther, perhaps taking it for granted that of his theological system the reader was in full possession. We are regularly introduced to the public disputations, and the forms and details of scholastic ceremony; but are seldom brought near enough to hear the arguments on either side, and much less to form a distinct idea of that system which Luther substituted for the one which he opposed. Even in descanting upon the far-famed Confession of Augsburg, we are confined to such extracts as refer to the prevalent abuses of the times, and are kept in ignorance of that long list of doctrines which forms the most imperishable part of the whole Confession.

The Life of Melancthon by Mr. Cox is a valuable publication,

and appears to us to be correct in narrative, forcible in argumentation, easy and perspicuous in style, and pure in sentiment. It is well arranged, and the incidental discussions are neatly interwoven into the body of the narrative, so that the whole forms a useful and interesting volume, even independently of the attractive character of its highly venerable hero. Our future quotations will be from this work, except where express intimation is given to the contrary.

In estimating the character of the Reformers, it is requisite to ascertain the existence and extent of the evils for which they professed to provide a remedy. Institutions boasting prescription and usage nearly immemorial, sanctioned, as was the case with Popery, by the consent of almost the whole European world, and identified with whatever was great and good, possessed no ordinary presumptive claims to submission and respect. A few slight blemishes would have furnished but an inadequate apology for overturning a system interwoven in the opinions of men with every institution human and divine. To have plunged the amputating blade into the quivering vitals, when the whole evil might have been remedied by the puncture of a lancet, or the application of an escharotic, would have been no enviable mark either of wisdom or integrity. We have, therefore, always considered it a most favourable circumstance for justifying the Reformation, that the errors and crimes of Popery were so glaring and decisive. No attenuated metaphysical subtleties of speculation were necessary to convince mankind of its enormities. Its character was unequivocal and obvious; so that no sooner were its faults first developed, than the world began to wonder at its own infatuation in not having discovered them long before. Even Pope Adrian himself could not but admit,—and that at a moment when such an admission, from such a quarter, was most ominous and fatal,—that the church had considerably deviated from its original purity; and although his predecessor Leo X. whose elegant licentiousness had much obtunded his moral susceptibility, saw it prudent to maintain a contrary opinion, yet it cannot be doubted but that the majority of the more respectable and intelligent Romanists were conscious that abuses had prevailed, though they might hesitate as to their extent, and felt no desire for their correction. It is indeed almost incredible, that Christendom could groan for centuries under such flagitious enormities as were afterwards detailed in the celebrated "Centum Gravamina," without being in some measure sensible of its misery; and in fact we find, that even in the darkest ages, reformists occasionally sprang up, though alas! unprotected and alone; and who were usually induced to yield in silence to those irresistible *argumenta ad hominem* which a blood-thirsty priesthood

was accustomed to employ. Nor were their innovations, however laudable, likely to spread; as no conclusion could be more deeply impressed on the minds of the people, than that a man whom an inquisitorial consistory had thought fit to condemn must necessarily be a most malignant and irreclaimable heretic. If, as we find to have been the case with Galileo and others, the flames of the stake were held up to reflect a ray of light upon physical science, we cannot wonder that they should have possessed the same magical power in the elucidation of divinity.

Mr. Cox, from page 83 to 94, has drawn a rapid but faithful sketch of various prevailing abuses of the times, which in themselves would be sufficiently amusing, were not the subject one at which the heart of every Christian must sicken and recoil. The devotees of papacy were not only avaricious, profligate, and sensual, but so completely immersed in pride and ignorance as to exhibit a spectacle at which we know not whether to laugh or weep. The authentic stories which are recorded on the subjects of relics and indulgences alone would furnish volume upon volume of more cruel satire upon poor human nature than the pen of Juvenal could have produced; to which the nauseous intemperance, inebriety, avarice, impurity, superstition, and frauds of the religious orders would form a most voluminous appendix.

The very devotion of the age was grafted on ignorance. In Italy itself, once the proud seat of elegance and learning, there arose a detestable order of friars, denominated "Fratres Ignorantiæ," who were obliged by the statutes of their foundation to take the most solemn oaths neither to know, learn, nor understand any thing whatever; but to answer every question with the silly but appropriate word NESCIO. The pontific college absolutely encouraged the grossest ignorance, especially amongst the mendicant friars; shrewdly observing, "Should these brethren study and become learned, they would master us; therefore hang a bag about their necks, and send them begging through cities, towns, and countries."

As for the laity, they appear to have been completely stultified on every subject connected with the prevailing superstitions. Thus, for instance, if an image, as was often the case, gave signs of favour or disapprobation to the surrounding devotees, in exact proportion to the sum of money invested in the priest's hands for its use and benefit, it never occurred to the adorer to ask whether there might not be wires and springs in its interior mechanism. A curious and most delectable instance of this credulity is related in the Table Talk of Luther. A priest, it seems, had charitably bestowed upon a pilgrim the leg of a certain humble quadruped, mysteriously wrapped up in a silken cloth, as a relic

of immense value, with strict injunctions not to open the sacred treasure till he should enter upon the borders of his native country. Here however he casually meets with *four* other pilgrims, each of which, like himself, immediately begins to boast of having received from Rome a leg of the identical animal which had carried our blessed Lord into Jerusalem. We might have conceived that the inference, that the priest had imposed upon their credulity, was absolutely irresistible; but so far however from suspecting their kind father, who had so beneficently rewarded their pilgrimage, they began to speculate upon the problem whether or not the aforesaid quadruped had really been in possession of five legs when alive! They had not, it appears, arrived at that admirable solution of Father John Ferrand, who, on being pressed with a somewhat similar difficulty respecting the number and perpetuity of relics in their nature perishable and unique, sagaciously replied, that "God was pleased to multiply and reproduce them for the devotion of the faithful!" Spalatin enumerates no less than nineteen thousand three hundred and seventy-four sacred relics in the great church of Wittemberg alone;—what then must have been the number and value at more celebrated shrines! We can, however, give credit to almost any stories of Romish absurdities, astonishing as they may appear, when we consider the strange facts which were disclosed in our own country at the dissolution of the monastic institutions, and which, after the most charitable deductions, still present a picture which every feeling mind must shudder to behold.

Considering these awful facts, the precise moment of Luther's attack upon the absurdities and impieties of the age appears to have been singularly providential. Unconscious as the agent himself might be of the great work which he was about to undertake, the vast affair was evidently conducted, *non sine numine Dei*, with a view to the whole of the obnoxious system. We regret that our limits will not permit us to retrace various minute circumstances, in the character and conduct of the reigning popes, the spirit and temper of the reformers themselves, the literary and political occurrences of the times, and the method in which the patronage of princes was at first bestowed upon the infant cause, all of which concurred in a remarkable degree to accomplish the designs of an over-ruling Providence.

Had Luther begun with attacking a mere doctrinal error, however flagrant or absurd, he would doubtless have been foiled, if not by the then current subtleties of Aristotelean dialectics, at least by the powerful terrors of inquisitorial authority. But an attack upon those nefarious practices in Popery which so unsparingly exhausted the purses of its devotees could scarcely fail to be popular; and thus eventually paved the way for a more free exami-

nation of the whole system to which such expedients were appended. So unblushing was the effrontery of the priesthood, and so unsuspecting the blindness of the age, that

"The officers of the Roman chancery published a book containing the exact sum to be paid for any particular sin. A deacon guilty of murder was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for three hundred livres. An ecclesiastic might violate his vows of chastity, even with the most aggravating circumstances, for the third part of that sum. To these and similar items, it is added, 'take notice particularly, that such graces and dispensations are not granted to the Poor, *for not having wherewith to pay, they cannot be comforted.*'" (P. 90.)

These were facts that came home to every bosom. No logical or rhetorical arts were necessary to render the subject interesting. An ignorant man could discover that a pilgrimage was troublesome, and a thoughtless one that a dispensation was expensive; a prince that the traffic in indulgences diminished his revenues, and an ecclesiastic that a foreign jurisdiction was a constant tax and inconvenience. Had Luther coolly immersed himself in his Augustinean cell till he had thoroughly formed and digested a complete body of pure divinity, he would have found on its publication that he had far outstripped the knowledge and the feelings of the age; and would probably have lost his life for his audacity, instead of attracting disciples by the justness of his reasoning. But beginning, as he happily did, with a simple obvious evil, the untenable system of indulgences, he could not fail of securing attention; and to a man in his circumstances, with truth and Heaven on his side, to attract attention was to secure victory. Had he laid at once a train of gunpowder under the whole fabric, he would have lived perhaps in the records of history only as a mad incendiary who had perished in his rash attempt; but beginning with a few decayed fragments, which he could readily prove to every passing spectator were a nuisance to the whole building, he was permitted to commence the demolition of them; one unsound part thus removed, another was rendered visible, so that he was at length suffered to proceed till he had not left a single portion untouched in the vast edifice of supersition. Indeed he himself was as little able to support a premature disclosure of the whole truth as the most bigotted of his opponents. His own intellectual eye had been but recently couched, so that he could describe the objects which he beheld only in the gradual order in which they were wisely unveiled to his perception. A full burst of meridian light would but have dazzled him and his contemporaries with an overpowering glare; they were therefore gradually conducted from the pitchy darkness of the cavern, in which Popish superstition had so

long immured the world, to the first matin glimmering of celestial day;—as the light advanced, their intellectual optics became familiarized to its reception, till at length they could cheerfully bask in the bright and vivifying beams of a noontide sun.

The position of the religious world when Luther first made his appearance on the stage, is well described in the following citation:

"The state of the Catholic church was at this period quiet and reposing. Though many circumstances had occurred to prepare the public mind for the introduction of a new order of things—though some portentous gatherings of the no distant tempest might have been discernible to attentive observers, when not only private persons but distinguished princes upbraided the despotism, the fraud, the avarice, the extortion, the licentiousness of the Popish hierarchy, and, even demanded a reform of abuses by means of a general council,—yet the right of private judgment was not asserted, the supreme authority and infallibility of the Pope in religious affairs was not disputed, and the Roman Pontiff felt the utmost self-consciousness of security. The commotions which had been excited in some former ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, and more recently by the Bohemians, seemed to be at an end; and as in nature, the storm is frequently preceded by a peculiar stillness diffused around, when the winds are hushed into peace—not a leaf of the forest stirs—not a wave ripples on the tranquillised surface of the lake—not a bird flutters through the air to dissolve the universal enchantment;—so was the atmosphere of Rome at this time hushed into the deepest calm—not a breath of murmur stirred—not a tongue moved—not a voice was heard to excite alarm, and ecclesiastical authority lolled at perfect ease in the Papal chair. If the low mutterings of discontent began to roll, they were too distant to be heard, or too contemptible to be feared. If any intimation were given of the existence of rebellious feelings, they were only treated with the smile of ridicule. What mortal power could storm the citadel of St. Peter, and overturn the turrets of superstition? Who dare resist the well established power of Papal domination? Where was a son of Jesse to be found who could hope to slay the giant in his strength and glory?" (P. 82, 83.)

Luther was that hero. Assisted by a concurrence of providentially disposed circumstances, he resolutely began the tremendous task, and who has not heard of his aptitude for its fulfilment? Bold, vigorous, and persevering, incapable of being bribed by kindness, or terrified by menace, he attacked the Papal power in its most vital parts, and never ceased the unequal contest till the triple monster sank beneath his arm. The whole of Europe stood spectators of the long protracted combat! Every face exhibited breathless expectation and anxiety, interrupted only by the terrific clash of contending arms, and the alternate shouts of zealous partizans encouraging their favourite champion, or triumphing

over the momentary fall of his opponent. The wounds received by popery in that memorable conflict have never yet been healed; and though they have not had the happy effect of materially moderating her pride, they have so greatly exhausted her strength and crippled her energies, that Europe has comparatively little to dread, at least in a political view, from her insolent pretensions.

Hitherto, however, we have not adverted to the precise and most important point in which the religious system of Luther, and we may add of the New Testament itself, radically differs from that which he was the instrument of overpowering. Indulgences, and dispensations, and similar topics, did not bound the views of our great reformer. He began indeed with these practical and obvious abuses, but his powerful mind soon perceived that they all flowed from a common source, and however various in appearance, were only adjuncts to one fundamental misconception. He viewed the vast system of Popery,—though worthy of reprobation on various other accounts,—as levelled especially against one plain doctrine of our holy faith, which being fully established and defined, the individual abuses in question would inevitably lose their support. We regret that Mr. Bower, in the volume under consideration, has not brought this subject before his readers; or rather, that being obliged in some measure to advert to it, he has given reason to believe that he respects the reformation rather in a moral and political than in a strictly religious view, and therefore by no means cordially admires the illustrious subject of his narrative for the decided part which he took in reference to some of the chief doctrinal points at issue between the reformers and the Church of Rome. To enter adequately into this important subject would require a longer and more theological discussion than our pages will allow; in justice, however, both to our Author and ourselves we shall venture upon a few brief remarks.

We would ask then of any intelligent person who has perused but twenty chapters of the New Testament, what is the *characteristic* feature of our holy religion? Certainly not the existence of a Deity, nor even the duties which as dependent beings we owe to our Creator, and by necessary consequence to our fellow creatures; for these points, though of prime importance, so far from being confined to Christianity, are possessed, in some measure, by every religious code, however erroneous or absurd. It is true indeed that Christianity has reflected so much celestial light on these subjects, which were previously involved in great error and obscurity, that, even on this account alone, independently of other considerations, it would be degraded by a comparison with any other system professing to be divine. Still, however, these points, though highly momentous, are by no means the *characteristic* features of the system. The correct light in which the Christian dispensation

ought undoubtedly to be viewed, is that of an inspired solution of the well-known difficulty which Socrates was accustomed to affirm could never be removed by the unassisted reason of mankind;—a difficulty which every false religion seems deeply to have felt, but for which it could afford no suitable remedy. This important problem was to ascertain in what manner the Divinity might, consistently with his attributes, be propitiated towards offending man. The wiser Heathens could not deny, what however the devout Christian acknowledges to a much wider extent, that the conduct of the human race has never been such as to deserve the Creator's approbation. The natural law of our being is a full and undivided obedience to the dictates of conscience; or in other words, an undeviating course of moral rectitude, both in heart and conduct, from the first moment we become conscious of right and wrong, till the moment when we return to our Maker to give an account of all our actions.—From such a scrutiny where is the mortal that does not shrink? or who will assert that upon the ground of impartial justice he deserves the approbation of the Inspector of all hearts? *

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* On this subject we are glad to avail ourselves of a remarkable paragraph from the sermons of the judicious Hooker, (carissimus ille noster,) to confirm the view which we have taken.

" Our very virtues may be snares unto us. The enemy that waiteth for all occasions to work our ruin hath found it harder to overthrow a humble sinner than a proud saint. There is no man's case so dangerous as his whom Satan hath persuaded that his own righteousness shall present him pure and blameless in the sight of God. If we could say, we were not guilty of any thing at all in our consciences, (we know ourselves far from this innocency, we cannot say, we know nothing by ourselves; but if we could,) should we therefore plead not guilty before the presence of our Judge, that sees further into our hearts than we ourselves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our brethren, a bloody thought did prove us murderers before him; if we had never opened our mouth to utter any scandalous, offensive, or hurtful word, the cry of our secret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the sins which daily and hourly either in deed, word, or thoughts, we do commit; yet in the good things which we do, how many defects are there intermingled! God, in that which is done, respecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all those things wherein we have regarded our own glory, those things which men do to please men, and to satisfy our own liking, those things which we do for any by-respect, not sincerely and purely for the love of God, and a small score will serve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holiest and best things which we do be considered. We are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times distracted! how little reverence do we show unto the grand majesty of God, unto whom we speak! how little remorse of our own miseries! how little taste of the sweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as unwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end, as if in saying, *Call upon me*, he had set us a very burdensome task? It may seem somewhat extreme, which I will speak; therefore let every one judge of it, even as his own heart shall tell him, and no otherwise; I will but only make a demand: If God should yield unto us, not as unto Abraham, if fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good persons could be found in a city, for their sakes this city should not be destroyed; but, and if he should make us an offer thus large; search all the generations of men, sithence the fall

If then our acknowledged duty be unerring obedience,—an obedience sanctioned by unspeakable rewards and punishments,—and if it appear thus evident that no man whatever has really acted up to this immutable requisition of his being, the great question of Socrates will necessarily recur with the most painful interest to every reflecting mind. But in what manner does unassisted reason attempt to meet the difficulty? "God is infinitely good;"—undoubtedly; but his goodness consisted in placing mankind under a dispensation by which, as long as he retained his moral purity, he was entitled to happiness; and not in violating his essential attributes of veracity and justice, in pardoning a voluntary and aggravated defection from his laws. "But repentance will appease the justly offended Divinity;—this, however, is a point that has not and cannot be proved; the opinion of Socrates, and every analogy in the ordinary course of human proceedings, are completely against such an hypothesis. The universal custom of offering vicarious sacrifices, for the purpose of appeasing the supposed anger of the gods,—a custom existing among nations the most unconnected, from the barbarous Indian to the polished inhabitant of Greece and Rome,—seems to prove that the doctrine of repentance being an atonement for delinquency, is by no means a natural conclusion. Neither again would men in all ages have resorted to those absurd austerities which history proves to have existed, had they been aware of a less rigorous method of obtaining the same desirable end.

Here then we perceive in its full force the dilemma, and in the Christian Revelation discover the most wise and interesting solution. The immutable requisitions of the Creator's law are not changed or softened down; man is not released from his responsibility, or the obligations to rectitude of conduct destroyed; but a substitute, a mediator, an atonement is provided; the past is cancelled, and a new covenant is brought to light in place of that which had been violated by our disobedience. By this divine

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of our father Adam, find one man, that hath done one action, which hath passed from him pure, without any stain or blemish at all; and for that one man's only action, neither man nor angel should feel the torments which are prepared for both. Do you think that this ransom, to deliver men and angels, could be found to be among the sons of men? The best things which we do have somewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promise whatsoever appertaineth to a blessed life to as many as sincerely keep his law, though they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutiful necessity of doing well, but the meritorious dignity of doing well we utterly renounce. We see how far we are from the perfect righteousness of the Law; the little fruit which we have in holiness, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our debt-books: our continual suit to him is, and must be, to bear with our infirmities, and pardon our offences."

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provision, pardon, and even justification, a much stronger term, are *gratuitously* bestowed on all who with penitence and faith return to the allegiance which they had broken; so that Christianity provides the most effectual method for restoring mankind to his aboriginal purity, whilst it exhibits mercy for offences which by the primæval law of our creation would have been inevitably followed by destruction.

The doctrine of a plenary atonement for sin,—an atonement wholly irrespective of human desert,—thus appears to be the characteristic of the Christian economy; and it was not, therefore, without reason that Luther felt the necessity of continually recurring to its importance. He perceived that the abuses which Popery had introduced were almost all at variance with this fundamental tenet of revealed religion. Penances and pilgrimages had nearly superseded, in human opinion, the necessity for that great and only sacrifice which the New Testament exhibits as the sole atonement for sin;—and above all, the doctrine of indulgences, besides involving a thousand absurd errors, proceeded on the anti-scriptural hypothesis that man, frail and fallible man, might not only perform all that was required, but might even accumulate a super-errogated stock of merit, transferrable to any individual who would venture his money in the purchase. So completely had this idea taken root in the minds of men, that the shrines of saints, so called, became crowded with offerings and devotees, whilst that of Him who is the only Mediator between God and man was neglected and despised. A curious instance of this occurs in the annals of the cathedral at Canterbury, where a shrine had been erected to the memory and worship of that arch-traitor Thomas à Becket, whom the Papists canonized as a glorious martyr for the rights of the priesthood. The offerings of pilgrims to the Cathedral in one year were as follow:

Becket's shrine	£.832	18	6
The Virgin's	63	5	6
CHRIST'S	3	2	6

A subsequent year furnished a still more remarkable proof of forgetfulness towards Him to whom alone we ought to ascribe the blessings of salvation.

Becket	£.554	6	3
The Virgin	4	1	8
CHRIST	0	0	0!

These facts respecting the merit of human observances being well considered, we are by no means prepared to join in the censure which Mr. Bower, we conceive, intends to convey by

the remark, that "Some of Luther's favourite doctrines, such as justification by faith without works, could never, he seemed to have thought, be out of season." We are certainly as strong advocates as Mr. Bower can possibly be, for all due order and proportion in exhibiting the doctrines and precepts of our faith; but systematical errors call for systematical confutations; constantly-recurring mistakes demand constantly-recurring warnings. The plain fact appears to be, that Luther insisted so unremittingly on individual doctrines, especially on the one under consideration, and which he was accustomed to denominate *articulum stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, not solely on account of their great relative importance in the Christian scheme, but on account also of their being the precise points on which the whole Reformation appeared to him to depend. Adhering to the scriptural idea of our justification before God being, not the reward of our imperfect merit, but a gratuitous act of divine mercy depending on our repentance and faith, he needed no stronger battery from which to act with irresistible effect on the whole concatenated system of Papal superstition. The Papists, unable to controvert his position by scripture, were accustomed to pursue it to certain supposed consequences, which, if proved *necessarily* to result from the doctrine in question, would undoubtedly render it liable to suspicion. Their favourite argument was, that justification by faith, as maintained by the reformists, superseded the necessity of moral rectitude and good works. The whole dispute appears, however, to arise from what logicians call a doubtful middle term. If by the word *Faith* Luther had intended to designate a merely nominal recognition of Christianity, a baptism into the visible church, and an outward profession of the name of Jesus Christ, the Papists would doubtless have been perfectly correct in denying the validity of *such* a principle for the purposes of justification before God; since no fact can be more evident, than that a large portion of mankind possess this sterile faith, whose immoralities prove them to have no title to the appellation of genuine Christians. But *Faith*, as used by Luther, in correspondence with St. Paul, was a very different principle. It was that exalted grace of which the inspired writers predicated, that it "purifieth the heart," it "worketh by love," it "overcometh the world;" and these effects being not modal, but essential, not accidental, but inseparably interwoven into the necessary operation of the principle itself, the most powerful pledge was given for morality of life.

Happy was it for Luther, that amidst his arduous contest with the Romish Church, he did not stand alone, but was possessed of a friend and companion eminently qualified for correcting his errors, supplying his defects, and regulating the hasty sallies of

his impetuous spirit. His beloved Philip Melancthon was about fourteen years younger than himself, being born in the year 1497. He appears from his history to have possessed a mind formed for friendship and all the amenities of social life. His genius was marked by unusual precocity, yet accompanied with so much suavity and kindness, that he was greatly beloved, as well as respected, even amongst the childish rivals and companions whom the brilliancy of his talents was accustomed to eclipse. His memory was so powerful that he not only retained the general ideas, but even the very words of almost every author he perused. Being as remarkable for persevering application as for quickness of intellect and retentiveness of memory, his literary attainments were so diffuse and rapid, that he commenced Doctor in Philosophy before he had completed his seventeenth year. At a very early age he had become master of the principal Greek and Latin classics, especially of the elegant Terence; whose works he rescued from that unadorned prosaic dress in which, through the ignorance of transcribers, they had long appeared. The eulogies of learned men, and even of religious disputants, respecting Melancthon, would fill, says Seckendorf, if collected together, a considerable volume. Erasmus himself has borne frequent and magnificent testimony to his genius, his learning, and his virtues. Thus whilst Melancthon was but eighteen years of age, the great ornament of Rotterdam could admiringly exclaim,

"At Deum immortalem quam non spem de se præbet admodum etiam adolescens et pene puer, Philippus ille Melancthon, utraque literatura pene ex æquo suscipiendus! Quod inventionis acumen! Quæ sermonis puritas! Quanta reconditarum rerum memoria! Quam variæ lectio! Quam verecunda regiæque prorsus indolis festivitas." (P. 20.)

Our own Latimer, some time after, in a sermon preached before King Edward the Sixth, mentioned him in terms as characteristic of the speaker as they were indicative of the merits of the amiable person whom he praised.

"I hear say Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end." (P. 24.)

But to crown his fame, he had the singular felicity of being beloved as well as eulogized, so that even his adversaries, said Erasmus, cannot find it in their hearts to hate him.

The important change which at an early age took place in the mind of Melancthon on the subject of religion may be ascribed to the perusal of a copy of the Bible which the celebrated Capnio

had put into his hands, and which instantly became his inseparable companion. The monks, with their usual virulence and prejudice, instantly became his persecutors.

"The spirit manifested by these religious barbarians on this occasion, perfectly harmonized with the language of one of the monkish fraternity, whose preposterous ignorance and bigotry have furnished a standing joke ever since the Reformation. 'A new language,' says he, 'has been invented, which is called *Greek*; guard carefully against it, it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people a book written in this language, which they call the *New Testament*; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted to Judaism'!!!" (P. 29, 30.)

At the early age of twenty-one, by the particular desire of Frederick the Wise, Melancthon migrated from his own university of Tubingen, to undertake the Greek Professorship at that of Wittemberg. The sorrow of his Alma Mater at her loss was exceeded only by the joy of Luther and his colleagues at the treasure which they had gained. Melancthon instantly became so popular that innumerable students flocked to Wittemberg; and his own auditory of pupils is said to have amounted to more than fifteen hundred persons. The praises bestowed by Luther upon the youthful stranger amount almost to rapture; he even condescended himself to become his pupil in the Greek language, and from the first moment of their intercourse a hallowed friendship commenced which ended only with their lives.

The advantages resulting from this connexion, both to the illustrious associates themselves and to the glorious cause which they espoused, can scarcely be appreciated. Though possessed individually of the most astonishing powers, neither alone would have been adequate to the task which Luther had commenced. The bold, sanguine, yet obstinate mind of the senior reformer was doubtless greatly moderated by the uniform Christian prudence and serenity of his friend; and, in return, his friend must have derived from constant collision with so strongly marked a spirit,—a spirit which could neither be intimidated nor cajoled,—no small portion of that energy and resolution which his own complexion had denied.

In a literary point of view also the reformation derived very great advantages from the efforts of Melancthon. The learning of Luther, at least in his early years, was dry and scholastic; his mind also was somewhat coarse and ungraceful; the more elegant pursuits of literature formed scarcely any part of his studies or his taste;—what an accession therefore was it to the strength of his most righteous cause, to have found a friend of acknowledged profundity of classical learning, of indisputable taste,

of true Attic wit, and master of all those graces of thought and language which the revival of learning had already qualified the greater part of Europe to enjoy and appreciate! At a time when genuine religion was injuriously identified with party, (and when, alas! has that ceased to be the case?) nothing could have operated more powerfully than the conduct and character of the judicious Melancthon to associate it with sentiments of cheerfulness and taste. There appears in his writings a sort of practical good sense, combined with great elegance and literary merit, which must have produced irresistible effects on those discerning readers, who, fatigued with the nonsensical jargon of the schools, had began to look around for some more interesting and rational discussion.

In another point of view also their friendship was important; for Luther had rendered himself so completely obnoxious to the Papists, that it became at length inexpedient, on various accounts, for him to appear in person at the public disputations; especially after the proscription at Worms, when to have taken away his life would have been esteemed a meritorious act of piety. The ridicule also with which he had assailed the Head of the Romish Church had so irritated his opponents that nothing like a calm investigation of truth could reasonably be expected where he was present at the discussion. But Melancthon was free from these exceptions; so that at the great conference at Augsburg he conducted the whole affair on the side of the reformers, Luther being placed at a convenient distance for intercourse and consultation.

Melancthon has always been, as he deserved to be, a considerable favourite with the Protestant world; and even the Roman Catholic writers themselves, in default of being able to impeach his character or his talents, have affected to boast that so illustrious a man was born and educated within the pale of the infallible church. As far however as the work of reformation is concerned, he can by no means claim equality with his gigantic friend. Luther might have done much without Melancthon, but Melancthon could have done nothing without Luther. The one was fitter for discovering and opposing abuses, the other for edifying a church substantially correct. We believe both to have been equally free from that worldly policy which would have urged them to accommodate their doctrine to the fashion of the times, but the same real quality of heart assumed a different air in the two men by passing through the medium of a very different temper and disposition. Luther's love of truth oftentimes assumed an appearance of malignity to its opposers; while Melancthon, though far from shrinking from the promulgation of his tenets, and conscientiously willing

even to suffer martyrdom for the cause in which he was engaged, clothed his conceptions in such conciliating terms, and accompanied them by such mild and engaging manners, that he secured reverence and even regard from the very men whose principles he was opposing.

"I am born," exclaims Luther, "to be for ever fighting with opponents, and with the devil himself, which gives a controversial and warlike cast to all my works. I clear the ground of stumps and trees, root up thorns and briars, fill up ditches, raise up causeways, and smooth the roads through the wood: but to Philip Melancthon it belongs, by the grace of God, to perform a milder and more grateful labour—to build, to plant, to sow, to water, to please by elegance and taste. O happy circumstance! and shame to their ingratitude who are not sensible of it!" (P. 302.)

The charge of culpable timidity, so frequently urged against Melancthon, we think in a great measure unjust; and our author has defended him from it with considerable success. Compared with Luther, he might be timid;—and who is not?—but we are convinced that what so often *appeared* in him like timidity and equivocation, arose rather from a tender conscience than a weak heart. He hesitated, not because he was afraid of torments, or of death itself; but because he was accustomed to weigh, deliberate, and re-consider, before he finally resolved, and dreaded lest he should endanger his own salvation, and disturb the repose of the church by unnecessary innovations. The only important charge of tergiversation which has been plausibly laid upon him, is his publication respecting the Interim, in what was called the adiaphoristic controversy; for a vindication of his conduct on which subject we refer to Mr. Cox's work, (p. 478 to 506,) the dispute being too long for our insertion.

It is no common testimony to the truth of the doctrines avowed by the reformed church, that each of these illustrious men should have been converted from Popery by the perusal of the sacred writings, independently of human authority. The little volume which Luther found neglected upon the shelves of his monastery, not only convinced himself, but has been virtually the means of convincing millions of others; for from that auspicious moment the vernacular Bible became no longer "*Liber hæreticus et prohibitus*," but being admirably translated into German by Luther and his colleagues, gave the signal for a rapid multiplication of copies and translations in almost every other European language; and its effects are still visible in the universal spread of the Holy Scriptures, with a rapidity little short of geometrical progression, by means of our various institutions for that purpose.

With regard indeed to Melancthon, we admit that he never became thoroughly decided respecting the great points at issue between the Reformers and the church of Rome, till after the memorable conference at Leipsic. Here on the very spot where Popery expected a complete triumph, the goodness of the Protestant cause appeared so obvious that the ingenuous Philip who had been present only as an auditor became an unshaken advocate, and attached himself irrevocably to the side of his colleague. Still however, on looking back to his early history, we perceive that the first impressions on his mind, which ultimately produced this decisive step, were derived from the patient study of the Volume of Inspiration.

A circumstance which conduced materially to the happiness of these two eminent characters, while it furnished a never failing source of virulent declamation to their adversaries, was their having each entered into the bonds of connubial felicity. Luther's marriage was peculiarly obnoxious to the Papists, in consequence of his having been himself a monk, and Catherine de Bora, whom he married, a nun; nor was it altogether pleasing to the Reformers themselves, on account of the unfortunate political juncture at which it happened. It is pleasing however to behold this rough polemic occasionally relaxing from his labours to enjoy the comforts of domestic life. Mr. Bower shall present us the picture.

"Warm as he was in temper, and unaccustomed to yield to authoritative commands, he yet possessed much of the milk of human kindness. Few men entered with more ardour into the innocent pleasures of society. His frankness of disposition was apparent at the first interview, and his communicative turn, joined to the richness of his stores, rendered his conversation remarkably interesting. In treating of humorous subjects, he discovered as much vivacity and playfulness as if he had been a man unaccustomed to serious research. The visitor of Luther's domestic circle was assured of witnessing a pleasing union of religious service with conjugal and paternal affection. His fondness for music continued during life, and spread a charm over the discharge of his serious duties. He was always a zealous advocate for the use of music in public worship. In an evening before parting from his family and friends, he was in the habit of regularly singing a hymn. This he usually did in a high key, and with all the advantage of a delightful voice. In his hours of occasional dejection, music proved his most pleasant and effectual restorative. It was much to be regretted that his constitution, though apparently robust, by no means afforded him the steady enjoyment of health. Whether from taking too little exercise, or from the repeated occurrence of mental agitation, he was subject to frequent and severe head-aches. In respect to diet, he was remarkably abstemious, a habit probably acquired in his monastery, and continued in consequence of the sedentary nature of his occupations." (P. 288, 289.)

Melancthon appears to have been equally happy in his new connexion. His house was greatly frequented both by the rich and the poor; the former for the pleasure of his society, the latter for that relief which he was never known to deny. Indeed both himself and his partner in life seem to have been characterized by an exuberant benevolence; and to complete their comfort, possessed, what in modern days is no common treasure, a most valuable and faithful servant, whose praises have been justly handed down to posterity along with those of his beloved master. So complete was the union of the great and the minor virtues in our illustrious Reformer, that he whose presence had been earnestly courted by no less than three crowned heads at once, namely Henry VIII., Francis, and his own Sovereign the Elector of Saxony, could condescend to invent trifling puzzles for children, or even literally to rock his infant to repose.

The leading religious sentiments of these two great men were substantially the same, though there was considerable difference in their method of diffusing them. If Luther may be compared to St. Peter, whose character he in many respects resembles, Melancthon may with equal propriety be compared to St. John. The doctrines of Luther were what, as an Augustinean monk, we might have reasonably expected from him, considering his great reverence for the founder of his order. His sentiments are faithfully displayed, though not with all the vehemence he could have wished, in the Augsburg Confession, which was drawn up by Melancthon under his own eye; and, except in the important point of the Eucharist, will be found to correspond pretty closely with those which shortly afterwards took their name from the celebrated founder of the Calvinistic school. On the subject of the Eucharist he was undoubtedly wrong; and there seems some reason to believe that Melancthon was partially convinced of the error, and would possibly have gone over to the Zuinglian opinion, which was the opinion afterwards adopted both by Calvin and our own church, had it not been for motives of confidence in the judgment of Luther, and of diffidence in himself. The Zuinglian doctrine had the presumptive plea, (a plea which should never be set aside except from positive evidence,) of being simple, plain, and practical, whereas that of Consubstantiation, which Luther adopted, is scarcely less unintelligible and absurd than the papistical dogma which he had renounced.

Having incidentally adverted to the name of Calvin, we cannot avoid remarking, with shame and grief, that in reference to the unchristian transaction which has left so indelible a stain upon his character,—the burning of Servetus,—our favourite Melancthon was accustomed to give his unequivocal approbation. Luther, more happy, had arrived at that peaceful bourne where both

heresy and persecution had for ever ceased. How blood-thirsty must have been the spirit of that church from which our Reformers seceded, when even such men as the proverbially amiable Melancthon could not wholly escape the surrounding contamination!

The moment at length arrived in which after eight and twenty years of most intimate and honourable attachment, these friends were obliged to part, at least till that auspicious morning of the resurrection in which they might hope to be again united. Luther, though not more than sixty three years of age, had been long languishing by the slow accession of disease. The ardour of his mind had prematurely worn away its corporeal companion; the sword had cut the sheath. The following is an extract from the letter written by his friend Jonas to the Elector of Saxony, February 18th, 1546. After describing the various symptoms of his disorder, and the incidents and conversations which had occurred during his sickness, he adds;

"Luther now prayed, saying, 'O my heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast revealed to me thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have preached him, I have confessed him, I love him, and I worship him as my dearest Saviour and Redeemer, him whom the wicked persecute, accuse, and blaspheme.' He then repeated three times the words of the psalm, into thy hands I commit my spirit—God of truth, thou hast redeemed me.' Whilst the physicians and we applied medicines, he began to lose his voice and to become faint; nor did he answer us, though we called aloud to him and moved him. On the countess again giving him a little cordial, and the physician requesting that he would attempt to give an answer, he said, in a feeble tone of voice, to Cœlius and me, yes, or no, according as the question seemed to require. When we said to him, Dearest Father, do you verily confess Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer, he replied 'Yes,' so as to be distinctly heard. Afterwards his forehead and face began to get cold, and although we moved him, and called him by name, he gave no answer, but, with his hands clasped, continued to breathe slowly until he expired between two and three o'clock." (Bower's Luther, p. 277.)

His interment was at once splendid and sorrowful, and his friend Melancthon pronounced, with no ordinary emotions, the funeral oration over his grave. From this period almost all the weight of the Reformation devolved upon the survivor, who was spared about fourteen years longer to continue the work which his companion had commenced. Of his success it is not our province to detail the history. We therefore pass over the remaining transactions of his life to advert to the final hours of his mortal existence. His lamp burned brightly to the last. He would not for a moment desist from his ordinary labours, till once by the kind

stratagem of his friends who saw and lamented his extreme weakness of body, the pupils of the University were advised to absent themselves from the Lecture Room, so that he was obliged to return to his couch for want of auditors. During the whole of his sickness his mind was happy and even cheerful. The word *peace* was often on his lips. His anxiety for the state of the church seemed to be his only care. To the last he persisted in writing letters of importance, and even in attempting to go on with a learned work which he had intended shortly to publish. So great was the respect and sympathy of the University for their revered father and friend, that the various professors on finding him near his dissolution, gave notice to the students that the lectures would be suspended for that day, and urged them to employ the leisure thus gained in earnest prayer to God for his recovery.

Almost the last words Melancthon was heard to utter were, "Aliud nihil—nisi cœlum."

"At length 'in the midst of solemn vows and supplications,' at a quarter of an hour before seven o'clock in the evening, of the nineteenth of April, 1560, at the age of sixty three years two months, and three days, he gently breathed his last. No distractions of mind, no foreboding terrors of conscience agitated this attractive scene. His chamber was 'privileged beyond the common walks of virtuous life—quite in the verge of Heaven'—and he expired like a wave scarcely curling to the evening zephyr of an unclouded summer sky, and gently rippling to the shore. It was a 'DEPARTURE,' a 'SLEEP,'—the earthly house of this tabernacle was 'DISSOLVED.'" (P. 564, 565.)

The remains of this apostolic man were deposited in a leaden coffin close to the body of his departed friend. "Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death they were not divided." The epitaphs, elegies, and other panegyrics which followed his death are innumerable; we shall however quote part of an original ode which Mr. Cox has inserted in his work as the production of a poetical friend.

"Oh who would envy those who die
Victims on ambition's shrine!
Though idiot man may rank them high,
And to the slain in victory,
Pay honours half divine;
To feel this heaving, fluttering breath,
Stilled by the lightest touch of death,
The happier lot be mine:

I would not, that the murdering brand
Were the last weapon in my hand.

He of whom these pages tell,
He, a soldier too—of truth,
He, a hero from his youth,

How delightfully he fell!
Not in the crash, and din, and flood,
Of execrations, groans, and blood,
Rivetting fetters on the good;—
But happily and well.

No song of triumph sounds his fall,
No march of death salutes his bier,
But tribute sweeter far than all
The sainted sigh, the orphan tear!
Yet mourn not, ye who stand around,
Bid not time less swiftly roll,
What though shade the prospect bound;
He a brighter world has found,
Death is the birth-day of the soul.

Witness! (for ye saw him die,)
Heard you complaint, or groan, or sigh?
Or if one sigh breathed o'er his breast,—
As gentle airs when days of summer close,
Breathe over wearied nature still repose,
And lull a lovely eve to rest;
It whispered,—'all within is peace,
The storm is o'er and sorrows cease.'" (P. 567, 568.)

ART. XIV.—*The Literary and Scientific Pursuits which are encouraged and enforced in the University of Cambridge, briefly described and vindicated,* &c. By the Rev. Latham Wainewright, A.M. F.A.S. Hatchard, 1815.

A LONG time has now elapsed since the attention of the public was called to the merits and delinquencies of the English Universities, and we own that we had no expectation of seeing any thing further issue from the press with reference to the disputes on that subject. After the memorable contest which we dare say is fresh in the memory of our readers, a profound peace followed, and the academic cloister has enjoyed from that period a degree of repose to which it had been long a stranger.

We scarcely know in what light to consider the author of the little work before us, whether as friendly or hostile to *our Alma Mater;* for, although he announces himself as a sort of ally, we cannot help looking with some suspicion upon the kindly offers of a Cantab, and the old caution sounds in our ears, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* But our habitual circumspection is bristled up into serious alarm when we read the following pas-

sage:—"It has been objected to the eloquent and splendid defence of our English Universities affixed to the publication of a great scholar of the present day, that the author conceived it more consistent with prudence to dazzle his readers by a display of the powers of impassioned language, than to enter into a sober detail of what, *it is alleged*, he was apprehensive might shrink from the test of minute inquiry." It is true that our author very civilly avows the objection to be unfounded, and seems even willing to grant that a Poetry Professor may be allowed an aspect somewhat turgid, and a gesture more elate than the vulgar herd of men; but still we perceive by the sly look with which he throws these calumnies in our way, that they are not regarded by him with unmixed displeasure. It could not indeed be expected that a Cantab should let an opportunity pass by of casting a slur on the rival University. War in disguise must be allowed according to ancient usage. It is, perhaps, a good omen, or at least a sign, that the Sons of the Muses in our two great Academies feel themselves secure from alarm, that they do not make a common cause, and join their arms against the invading Goth.

We, however, who have long since laid aside our juvenile partialities and antipathies, who only remember the time when we trod the groves of Academus to count the decades which have sprinkled our heads with sober grey, are disposed to view these matters with far other eyes; and if we do not look down from the *serena templa sapientum*, we may take credit to ourselves at least for observing the animosities of party with minds out of the reach of their contagion. As far as we can discern the mutual interests of the parties, we feel disposed to counsel those who seem doubtfully affected towards each other to abstain from hostile deeds and unfriendly menaces, and not to waste in intestine warfare those energies which are required for defence. Their adversary is not asleep, but only lurks in the dark, and waits for a favourable moment; and if there be any unguarded points without, or any internal weaknesses which are not in due time reformed, they will not fail, sooner or later, to invite a new attack from those disorderly assailants, who, to use our author's emphatic words, "are not only uniformly hostile to all that bears the venerable form of antiquity, but who, in their incoherent projects of reformation, would reduce the attainments of every order, however elevated by rank or dignified by profession, within the limits prescribed by their own contracted and illiberal views."

That old institutions which had subsisted from the dark ages without any complete alteration of system, and which necessarily retained many of the customs entailed upon them by the caprices of particular benefactors, or by various legal enactments contrived to answer temporary purposes, should exhibit some absurdities in

their outward form, and even conceal internal defects, was a thing both probable and pardonable. That reform in such institutions should originate from inherent virtue, without any external admonition, is contrary to the principles of human nature and to the experience of ages. In fact the old proverb, "μάθοι γὰρ ἄν τις κ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σοφόν," was never more remarkably exemplified than in the history of our Universities, and particularly in that of Oxford. The rebuke which the latter received from the sarcastic pen of Gibbon, though uttered in malignity, and by one who was as careless of equity as he was incompetent to sit in judgement, was productive of the most salutary effects. That a boy who had scarcely learned his Latin accidence should presume to censure the want of profound learning, or of food for the understanding, in a school which had educated Hyde and Prideaux, and Locke and Chillingworth, is somewhat ridiculous; and that the historian of the Roman empire should without further inquiry add the weight of his great authority to the unripe hostility of his early days, might excite wonder in those who are not aware of the uncandid temper of the writer. But the arrow, which was shot at random, fortunately reached the mark. A severe and unjust measure excited feelings which might scarcely have been roused by a more mitigated reproof. There were many defects in the discipline of an University, which for ages had reckoned among its sons the most learned and illustrious men of whom Britain has had to boast, and these defects have been the sooner removed for being exaggerated and represented in the most opprobrious form by a writer of great authority.

The attacks which we have witnessed of late years on the character and merits of the reformed University have been carried on with the same tone of feeling; but the objects against which they have been directed are of a very different description from those which drew forth the invectives of Gibbon. It is not the dearth of literature, of which we have heard so much complaint, but the too great abundance of learning, and the envied honours which are paid to it, and which are pronounced by a certain class of economical critics to be an improper bounty upon this department of labour, calculated to increase the stock of the article beyond the demand of the market. Once or twice indeed it has been said, that all the fellows of colleges are lazy monks or drowsy pedants; but this very inconsistent remark soon gives way to the prevailing complaint that their learning is too profound for any practical purpose—that it exceeds the measure of utility, and the modicum allowed by Adam Smith.

Among the various discoveries made by this inventive age, in subjects concerning which nothing remained to be discovered, one of the most deserving of regard is an entirely new theory of

education. When the prejudice of our forefathers was once discarded, who fancied that human beings are to be formed for an immortal life, all interference on the part of religion, which was the main object of those sensible but honest persons, was effectually precluded. An important stage was thus made in advance, but a still greater discovery remained for a more enlightened day. As soon as it was known that the moral virtues are of little or no importance, nay, rather a detriment to the utility of the individual, since vices are the checks contrived to coerce a devouring population, the culture of the common powers of our nature, the perfecting of the moral and intellectual character of man, was shown to be a futile project devised by the sickly brains of bigots and enthusiasts. When all that is noble and elevated in human nature was thus laid in the dust, a new superstructure was raised on the foundations of utility. The sordid principles of the manufactory were introduced into the great world, and were proposed as the only rational basis and principle of social order. The division of labour was to be kept in view by parents and guardians from the earliest infancy, and the faculties of the youth to be warped and bent in a particular direction. All men were thus to be made artisans, and as far as possible mere mechanical instruments in the great laboratory of national wealth. The more completely all the exuberant sprouts of genius, all the buds of intellect were pruned off, the more perfect was the system of training. The grand object to be held steadily in view was to approach as nearly as possible to the servile action of machinery, to convert men into living windlasses and looms.

An inquisitive and censorious person might be inclined to call in question the novelty of this plan, and the claim to original invention, particularly when he found the principles of it laid down, and in some respects improved upon, in a work of no very modern date, viz. in the law-book of Menu, which some pretend, though on insufficient grounds, to have been written by a person no less ancient than Noah. At whatever time these Institutes were composed, their precepts have governed the practice of the Indian Brahmins for many ages, under whose rule the men of one race are born smiths and braziers, while the offspring of another are priests and philosophers from their cradles. Some persons would be disposed to accuse the moderns of having borrowed their ingenious system from these wise men of the east; but for our own parts we think such an insinuation would be wanting in liberality and candour, and we know not why the same discoveries may not be fallen upon by accident in Scotland, or even in Ireland, without any direct communication with the Ganges or Burampooter. Neither shall we suspect our contemporaries of having taken the example of some singular projects which have been

essayed nearer home by the Moravians and some other sects, whose system of education is a sort of drill-training, and according to whose method of culture the sapling is clipped and espaliered into a particular form. This was done in order that the plant might bear more of the fruit of life by having its wild shoots pruned off and its luxuriance restrained; but, according to the philosophical scheme now held forth to our view, the noblest trees of the forest are to be cut and distorted into the most unsightly shapes, only that their trunks may furnish timber of different forms and qualities adapted to the menial purposes of domestic use.

We will not conceal the disgust which these puerile conceits, these wretched quackeries, excite in our minds. To us it appears that nothing is more degrading to human nature, than the attempt to reduce all men to the condition of mere artisans or mechanical drudges. To the plans and contrivances of these despicable sophists, we would oppose the maxims of a philosopher, who has thus laid down the essential principles of education: "Our first aim should be to cultivate all the various principles of our nature, both speculative and active, in such a manner as to bring them to the greatest perfection of which they are susceptible;" and our second, "by watching over the impressions and associations which the mind receives in early life, to secure it against the influence of prevailing errors, and, as far as possible, to engage its prepossessions on the side of truth."

Every particular art or profession, if exclusively pursued, while it exercises and developes some powers of the mind, leaves others dormant and unimproved. If it be our object to form man as an intellectual and moral being, we must cultivate chiefly those leading faculties of our common nature, which declare themselves to be the principles appointed by Providence for the government of the mind, and most intimately connected with the final cause of our existence; but we must not leave any of our faculties without exertion. It is not the artisan either literary or mechanical who attains to the perfection or happiness of which he is susceptible. "That education only can be considered as complete and generous (to use the language of Milton) which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and of war."

In spite of the vehement complaints which have been uttered against our universities, we are of opinion that there exist in the present day no institutions for the training of youth, in which the great foundations for future excellence are so well laid down as there. We are not adverting now to professional education, or to the means of acquiring information on particular arts, but to that general and preliminary instruction which is fitted for a

youth of that age which is the most common period for quitting the public school, and resorting to the university. It is at this stage of life that the faculties most quickly develope themselves, that the feelings receive their tone, and that the whole temper and constitution of the mind is fixed. The sentiments are soft and pliable, and capable of being moulded on the sublimest models, or of contracting indelibly the most degrading tendencies. At this age the youth, having previously acquired a pretty accurate knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, is employed during the first years of his academical education in studying diligently the splendid models of moral and intellectual greatness which remain to us in the stories of antiquity. By these examples his mind is roused to a noble enthusiasm, to an exalted feeling of excellence in human character, which may be compared to that exquisite sentiment in the fine arts which the student in these pursuits obtains by diligently contemplating the models of Italian painting and Grecian sculpture. The lives and manners of the ancients had a simplicity and dignity which in modern times have given way to an artificial and modish decoration. The gay fripperies of the latter hold nearly the same relation to the majesty of the former which a painted and ornamented image bears to the unadorned statue of Apollo. In the study of human nature, in the culture of the sentiments and moral judgments, the ancients afford a better school than the moderns, just as an artist would resort for examples to the remains of Praxiteles and Phidias rather than to a splendid exhibition of painted wax-work.

Such are the employments which are best suited to form the taste, to excite the genius, and to cultivate the moral powers, at that period of life which is generally spent within the walls of a college. It is not in the study of mere words, or of languages, that so much time is consumed. It is by the diligent study of the ancient writers that we become acquainted with the history of mankind, and avail ourselves of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of all former ages of the world. And we can only obtain a correct idea, a faithful copy in our own minds, of the sentiments and modes of thought which prevailed among the celebrated nations of antiquity, by reading the works of the ancients in their native languages. Translations have their use, but the best translation can convey no better idea of the original than a print in *mezzotinto* can afford of the canvass painted by the hand of Raphael or Titian. In the imitation of these fine models the mind receives a grace, an ingenuous polish which can scarcely be acquired by other means. But it is not the taste and imagination merely which are cultivated by the study of their immortal works.

The rational powers of the understanding obtain in the same school a wholesome exercise.

It is at Oxford that classical literature is much cultivated, and with the most enlightened views. Cambridge has always possessed accurate scholars; but from the days of Bentley and Dawes, the favourite pursuit of those who devote themselves to the Muses in that university has been verbal criticism. The works of the Greek and Roman authors are not studied at Cambridge so much for the ideas and sentiments which they contain, as for the sake of the words in which these are expressed, and a few dexterous emendations of corrupt passages seem to afford greater glory to the scholar than the most luminous conception of the style and feeling of his author.

In the system of instruction which the English universities have adopted, the first years of the academic education are shared between the pursuit of classical learning and the study of the mathematics. At Cambridge the mathematics receive, by the institutions of the University, an almost exclusive preference, as the examinations for degrees turn almost solely upon such subjects. It is true, that this proscription of classical learning is modified by the regulations of particular colleges; yet after the first year little or no attention is bestowed on literature, except what depends on the accidental taste of the individual.

A diligent application to mathematical studies has always been found most effectual in forming the mind to a habit of close thinking, and in communicating that facility, in comparing data, and that caution in admitting conclusions, which characterize a sound and well-tutored intellect. Nothing can be more futile than the objections which have been offered against mathematical studies, on the pretence that they engender a habit of scepticism. The apprehension is wholly without foundation; it becomes quite ridiculous when we hear the infidel Gibbon declaring that he abandoned the pursuit of the mathematics, because he conceived the habit of rigid demonstration to which it accustoms the mind to be destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which must determine the opinions and actions of our lives. With relation to this subject the remark of an able writer deserves our serious notice, that "almost all the best judges of moral evidence, and particularly the great modern advocates for the evidences of Christianity, have been mathematicians."

We shall present our readers with Mr. Wainewright's own account of the course of mathematical studies pursued at Cambridge.

"Attendance upon lectures on Geometry, Trigonometry, Algebra, Conic Sections, Fluxions, and the four mathematical branches of Natural Philosophy, in succession, is required, in most of the colleges,

every day, and in others, every alternate day; and if the enforcement of punctuality on these occasions is more necessary, it arises from that reluctance which these subjects are apt to create in the minds of those who have never been accustomed to the abstract reasoning of pure mathematics, or to the accuracy of philosophical induction. Numerous are the works which have been offered to the public, to facilitate the acquisition of geometrical science; and while some have only attempted to simplify the reasonings of Euclid, others have recommended plans for teaching the subject upon principles totally different, professing, indeed, to lead to the same conclusions, with equal strictness of demonstration, but with less obstruction to the comprehension of youth. But whatever arguments have been alleged in favour of these deviations from the beaten path, the University has, in my apprehension, acted wisely in adhering to the work of the great father of geometry, as presented to the world by his best editor. It may be true, indeed, that some of the difficulties discoverable in "The Elements" may have been obviated by the writers referred to; but it is also true, that in most of them objections are to be found, which more than counterbalance this boasted advantage. The demonstrations of Euclid, indeed, have rarely occasioned any serious obstacles to any one possessed of moderate capacity; and it is evidently more desirable to study the works of an author in their unaltered state, when no decided advantage is to be gained by abridgments and modifications.

"It was not till within a few years, that any general text-book was made use of on the subject of Natural Philosophy, but each college adopted such works as appeared most eligible to the tutor, or those which custom had long established. No inconsiderable advantage has been derived both to the tutors and the students from the joint publication of Professor Vince and Dr. Wood, recently elected Master of St. John's College, which comprises in four volumes the following subjects—algebra, fluxions, mechanics, hydrostatics (including pneumatics), optics, and astronomy. The erudition and skill of both these highly distinguished members of the University, in the recondite parts of mathematical science, no one, I imagine, will hesitate to acknowledge. Whether, indeed, in accommodating their talents to the apprehension of younger minds, they have in every case been sufficiently attentive to perspicuity of expression and simplicity of arrangement, has to some been a matter of doubt; but by uniting into one comprehensive work the substance of what is expected to be acquired on those subjects in every college, they have unquestionably afforded a fairer opportunity for the exertion of the student, than when he was left to depend upon the variable judgment of others for the choice of proper publications. In addition to the subjects contained in these volumes, the *college* lectures in this department, after having passed through the elements of *geometry*, *trigonometry*, and *conic sections*, terminate with propriety in the *Principia* of *Newton*, He, however, who understands the term *lecture* in its usual acceptation, will in the present instance be greatly mistaken; for one of the most prominent excellences which distinguish the plan adopted at

Cambridge, consists in the personal exertions required from every individual. The student does not enter the lecture-room of his college for the sole purpose of listening with passive attention to the observations and comments of the tutor, but is called upon to prove the various propositions offered to his class, sometimes orally, but, in the generality of cases, by the more explicit and less fallacious mode of *writing*. By this plan of committing the several answers to paper, it at once becomes apparent how far the subject is really understood by each, and an easy method is furnished of estimating their relative merit. Many to whom a *vivâ voce* examination is formidable and embarrassing, are by this means enabled to call forth the full strength of their faculties, unawed by the dread of ridicule, and to display the result of their private industry, without any impediment, which might possibly arise from the presence of vigilant competitors. (P. 41—44.)

It cannot be said that mathematical studies are pursued with so much zeal at Oxford as at Cambridge, but there is a considerable number of students who devote themselves to these sciences at the former university, and they are taught on a similar plan. When the new discipline was first established at Oxford, there was scarcely a sufficient number of persons acquainted with mathematics in the University to act the part of tutors; but that evil has corrected itself. We have frequently witnessed examinations in the schools at Oxford, in which the student was proved by a rigid scrutiny to have acquired a profound knowledge of the higher geometry, of the Principia of Sir Isaac Newton, and of the four branches of natural philosophy.

The University regulations at Oxford do not exact any knowledge of the mathematics to entitle to a degree. In this respect we highly disapprove of their decision; but the system pursued at Cambridge, according to which classical learning is excluded from all share in the senate-house examinations, is deserving of much stronger reprehension. It is rumoured that senior wranglers, when examined for ordination, have more than once been found unable to construe the Greek Testament. For the generality of men who are destined never to rise to any high distinction, a certain portion of literature, a moderate acquaintance with history and with the classical authors, is more valuable than a smattering of algebra; and it is for persons of this description that the restrictive regulations respecting degrees are enacted. The former pursuits are, besides, more inviting to those who want incitement to exertion.

We doubt not that every judicious reader will agree with us in opinion, when we pronounce that every individual destined for a liberal profession ought to go through the course of general education which we have marked out, and the advantages of which have been sanctioned by long experience. It must be confessed that there are some pursuits of so confined and in-

sulated a nature, that a man wholly ignorant and uncultivated in other respects may attain to a high degree of skill in them; but we cannot believe that ignorance in other branches of knowledge is in any case advantageous, or favourable to the attainment of distinction in any one art or profession. At all events, such a person sacrifices the perfection of his moral and intellectual powers to one limited object, and descends to the level of an artisan or mere mechanic.

Some persons dispute the claims of mathematical studies as the best discipline for the understanding, and contend that other pursuits, such as the experimental sciences, chemistry, or natural history, have equal pretensions, as affording exercise for the faculties, and ought to be placed on the same rank with the mathematics in the business of education. But this notion has only been supported by some who are equally advocates for all innovations on received opinions. We are by no means disposed to undervalue the experimental sciences, but we cannot admit them to hold as high a rank as abstract intellectual labour with respect to the discipline of the mind. The habit of close and undivided attention is most remarkably the effect of a devotion to mathematical studies. The mixture of conjecture which prevails in all the experimental sciences, and the loose method in which inferences are commonly drawn, encourage a disposition to vague and hypothetical reasoning. The great degree of uncertainty which accompanies the best conducted researches in these departments of human knowledge, and the fluctuating state of opinion with respect to many of them, produce an irresolute habit of mind and shake our confidence in the powers of reason. The limited exercise they afford to the faculties, by fixing the attention continually on a particular set of phenomena, will sometimes give the understanding a contracted and distorted form. It is by such exclusive habits that the mind becomes contaminated, in the language of Lord Bacon, with "the smoke and tarnish of the furnace." The same objections cannot be made to the scholastic logic, which is still in too high esteem at Oxford, and is absurdly made a necessary part of the public examinations, or to the metaphysics so zealously pursued in the Scottish universities. But the habit of quibbling in syllogisms is very remote from a manly exercise of the intellect; and the disputes of metaphysicians are of too abstruse and complicated a nature to be advantageously prosecuted in early youth.

Such are the studies which form the only legitimate and adequate resources for a perfect education, for that education which can alone enable a man to hold with credit and dignity an elevated rank in any learned or liberal profession. For promoting the attainment of this object, the discipline of the English uni-

versities is in general excellently adapted. The very climate of Oxford is congenial to the Muses, and they have no where dwelt with so much complacency, since they were driven by superstition from Helicon and Ausonia, as on the banks of Isis. The mathematical school of Cambridge still continues to be worthy of Newton and Barrow; and if in this great region of knowledge it does not take precedence of all the academies in Europe, it certainly acknowledges no rival in Britain. Oxford has lately begun to participate in this privilege, and the new system of discipline cannot fail, after a reasonable time shall have elapsed for the formation of new habits, to place her nearly on a level with her sister. Yet it is probable that the distinctive excellencies of both will long remain.

With every disposition to estimate impartially the comparative merits of the forms of discipline established in the two universities, we give, on the whole, a decided preference to that of Oxford, which we think likely to be most generally useful. The academic honours in Oxford are in appearance more within the compass of ordinary powers of mind, though there is enough to stimulate the exertion of the highest talents. In order to obtain admission into the first class in classical literature and mathematical sciences, the student must be perfectly acquainted with all the great authors both of Greece and Latium. He must not only be able to translate with fluency every passage in the tragic and comic poets, and in the works of the most celebrated historians and philosophers, but must shew, by a clear comprehension of their style and course of thought, that he has diligently studied them and imbibed their spirit;—he must have acquired an elegant and perspicuous style in Latin and English composition; he must be conversant with the Principia of Newton, and familiarly acquainted with the principal departments of the mathematics and the four great branches of natural philosophy. Though these acquirements are considerable, yet as the highest honours are attainable by an indefinite number, they are more likely to excite the hopes and exertions of the many, than the single diadem of the senior wrangler. The chance of a second place on the bench of honourables is too often despised, and those who do not feel themselves strong enough to struggle for the highest seat are frequently disposed to shun the contest altogether. The same method of single preference prevails through the whole academical system of Cambridge. The consequence will probably be that, while the latter boasts of some splendid ornaments, the new institutions of Oxford will call forth the energies and form the talents of a much greater number, and endow them with the privileges which accompany respectable attainments in literature and science.

The long list of proud names on which Mr. Wainewright founds his demonstration of the excellence of his university, furnishes an argument of palpable but inconclusive effect.

That we may not be dazzled by the splendid forms which appear in array before us, it is only necessary to consider, that the moral and intellectual greatness of these illustrious men must not be regarded as the sole production of the schools whither they resorted to seek for knowledge, although the universities, where their talents were fostered and their genius ripened into maturity, may well exult in recording such names among their sons. In every enlightened country young men who are found to be endowed by Nature with considerable talents, if they happen to be born of parents above indigence, are sent to those places where science is supposed to hold her favourite seat. Whatever be the real merit of a national academy, as long as it retains a high reputation, it will not fail to be a focus or centre of attraction towards which the youth possessed of vigorous talents are drawn from every side. Most of the distinguished men in every country will accordingly be found to have received their education in the universities of their native land. It is true that Salamanca cannot boast much of her progeny, at least of late years; but the degraded intellect of the Spanish nation is more to be blamed than the faults of their academies. Before the Spaniards became the slaves of a race of imbecile despots, their universities were highly renowned, and were frequented by many distinguished men.

On the whole we are disposed to believe, that not only the languages, but the wisdom and science of ancient times, are infused into our youth in the English universities in as unexceptionable a manner as can be desired. The exalted sentiments of the Athenian sages, the generous enthusiasm of the Roman patriots, the political genius of the ancient statesmen, the profound reflections of Thucydides, and the manly and vigorous tone of thought which we admire in the pages of Tacitus, are communicated to the youth who resort to these venerable seats of learning in their genuine spirit; and who can say how far the national character of Englishmen has been developed and advanced by the influence of these national institutions.

As we were about to close our paper in a tribute of general gratitude to these central emporiums of literature and science, a perplexing inquiry has been whispered in our ears. It is this: Have modern times added nothing to the stock of valuable knowledge? Has no new light been struck out in the world since the sea-fight at Salamis, or the battle of Actium, or even since the age of the Antonines, which may enlighten our progress through life? Must we ever, like Æneas, carry about on our backs the

Penates of Troy, and trust to their protection alone? If, as a great philosopher has said, modern times are the advanced age of the world, while antiquity was the period of its youth, the former may be in reality entitled to the reverence which by a false association of feeling we are tempted to bestow upon the latter. If it be so, and if the sciences both moral and physical are productions of a late period, have our universities kept pace with the advancement of knowledge, and are the whole of human acquirements to be found in them as their designation implies?

The benefits which are supposed to be conferred upon young men by a residence in an university are twofold. In the first place, such an academy is expected to afford that education for the mental powers which we have said that every gentleman, every man who is not doomed to mechanical labour either of body or mind, ought to receive. In the next place, an university ought to provide a fit education for all the liberal professions. It should possess within itself resources for imparting all the sciences required severally by the divine, the legislator, the lawyer, and the physician. That duties no less extensive than these properly belong to universities, and may justly be expected from them, is evident from the titles of the professorships with which they are endowed.

We have already taken under consideration the manner in which Oxford and Cambridge perform the first part of their duty, viz. the business of general education; and herein we have found much which we have thought worthy of our feeble commendation, and comparatively little subject for reprehension. We would fain bestow the same applause upon the mode in which particular or professional education is conducted in these celebrated resorts.

To professional education belong all the possible resources for assisting the acquisition of the different sciences. We exclude the mathematics from this enumeration, because we have mentioned them among the pursuits which belong to the general culture of the mind, and some of the sciences which we are about to set down as chiefly appertaining to professional men might also be considered in the same light.

After excluding the Mathematics, we may divide the remaining sciences which are expected to be taught at universities into four departments: viz. Theology, Moral and Political Philosophy, and Physical Science. We shall make a few remarks on the method of instruction pursued in each of these branches of human knowledge.

Much complaint has been made concerning the manner in which theological studies are followed at Oxford and Cambridge. These complaints are seldom without some ground. As contro-

versialists, our clergy are perhaps in general not well informed. Little pains are bestowed on these matters in their public education, if we compare their studies with those pursued in the sectarian academies. Yet the great assertors of pure Christianity, in whose cause the English Church has furnished more illustrious champions than any other church in Christendom, have been bred in the universities. We should be unwilling to exchange our Hookers, our Butlers, our Paleys, and our Watsons, for the keenest disputants on contested points, or the most subtile casuistical wranglers. Our Church is established, and it does not require that its doctrines should be made the theme of perpetual contention. It is established not merely by the laws of the empire, but on the immoveable basis of scriptural truth; and the same artifices are not necessary in defence of its impregnable bulwarks which are the only hope and resource of its assailants. Now and then a single warrior who feels inclined to put on offensive armour may descend into the plains and discomfit the foe, but we deprecate all attempts to render such an inclination general. The kind of knowledge in theology which is most useful is that which shall enable the divine to expound the Scripture with effect, and to set forth in the most lucid manner the great doctrines of Christianity. In this respect we are disposed to believe that there is in general little cause for complaint against our national academies. But in preparing young men for discharging the practical duties of parochial priests, a great deal more might be done than has hitherto been attempted or perhaps thought of. On this subject, however, we have lately expressed our opinion.

Let us now inquire into the state of moral philosophy, next to Theology the most exalted and important of human sciences. It is not a little strange that the very same texts of lectures on moral philosophy are annually resounded in the ears of the Oxonians, which were read 2000 years ago to the youth of Macedon. Not a single step further have we advanced in the search after wisdom and happiness. It is a startling thing to hear a learned professor declare that, after so many ages have elapsed since the inward eyes of men were first opened to the dawnings of celestial light, we are yet to learn the motives to virtuous conduct, the nature and origin of duty or moral obligation, and to deduce the great principles which ought to guide the lives and actions of men from the works of an author who lived during the dark night of paganism, of an author who has left scarcely any trace of belief in a moral Governor of the universe, or even of the existence of a Deity as a personal agent. We do not dispute that the Ethics of Aristotle were a great work for the time in which they were written, but we hold the assertion that they form the best code

of moral philosophy now extant to be a most absurd and preposterous proposition; and the pertinacity with which they are retained exclusively by the university of Oxford as a portentous example of the influence of inveterate prejudices.

How is Political Philosophy taught at Oxford? that science which has been so greatly augmented by modern discoveries, and by the researches of our countrymen, which has grown from infancy to maturity, in the course of the last century, and the knowledge of which is so essentially necessary to our legislators, who receive their education at the universities! Our English youth are taught the rights of peaceful citizens by him who tried his hand on the madman of Macedonia. The sons of our senators, who are to become the lawgivers of Britain, listen to the same maxims of government which sounded with so much effect in the ears of Antipater and the assassins who murdered each other for Alexander's throne. The Oxonians continue to learn political economy from Aristotle; and the philosophy of the human mind from the monkish dialectics, from quibbling comments on the syllogism, worthy of Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. Why then have they discarded the Ptolemaic astronomy, and the physiology of Galen and Avicenna?

Let us now turn our eyes for a moment from these ancient dames, the

> δηναιαὶ κόραι —— κοινὸν ὄμμ' ἐκτημέναι
> —————— ἃς οὐθ' ἥλιος προσδέρκεται
> ἀκτῖσιν, οὐθ' ἡ νύκτιος μήνη ποτὲ.

towards that austere and hard-featured sister of theirs in the North, who though born in the iron-times of Presbyterianism, and bred in a region where the olive of Attica will never bloom, yet holds out to her Southern sisters some examples of matronly conduct, and of mature good sense, which they might not disdain to imitate.

The university of Edinburgh owes its reputation to the excellent manner in which the moral and physical sciences are taught by its professors. The fundamental parts of education are very ill-provided for in Scotland. As an academy for the attainment of classical literature, the university of Edinburgh will bear no sort of comparison with the most distinguished of our public schools in England, and the quantum of mathematical knowledge which is usually acquired by Scottish students is very small. But in the superstructure which ought every where to be raised on this foundation, Edinburgh has no competitor in Britain. While the study of metaphysics at Oxford is confined to the old scholastic method of stringing syllogisms and ringing changes on the categories and predicables, a system which never imparted

one ray of useful knowledge, or strengthened any one faculty of the mind; and while the science of Ethics is only known in the dogmas of Aristotle, which a great champion of established customs has strangely asserted to be the only safe guide in the theory of moral duties, the university of Edinburgh has been the chief seat or school of abstract philosophy which, whatever errors its doctrines may be supposed to involve, has the single privilege of having attained celebrity in this island, and of having drawn the attention of our countrymen to the highest department of human knowledge. It has been adorned and enlightened by the eloquence and powerful intellect of Professor Stewart. We are not called upon now to discuss the doctrines of the Scottish metaphysicians, but shall merely observe by the way that, ever since the petulant attack made by Dr. Priestley on Dr. Reid and his contemporaries, this subject has with few exceptions been misunderstood and misrepresented in South Britain; and we do not think that justice is done to the doctrine of *common sense*, which is one of the peculiar principles of that school. If Reid had adopted the term intuitive instead of instinctive, to designate that class of truths which all men of sound intellect receive as axioms, or principles which require no proof and admit of none, the conviction which they enforce resulting naturally from the very constitution of the mind, he would less have exposed himself to the objections which have been urged, in appearance, against his philosophy; but, in reality, against the words in which it was set forth. We do not pretend to affirm that *all* the dogmas of Dr. Reid can be called intuitive truths; we are disposed to admit, nay we are fully convinced, that he multiplied unnecessarily the number of first principles, and set down as such many positions which are susceptible of proof, and may be even disputed; but, without professing to advocate the cause of the Scottish writers, we may safely assert that the lectures of Professor Stewart are calculated to afford a far better view of the philosophy of the human mind, and of the science of morals, and to excite a much stronger interest in these pursuits, than the antiquated canons of logic which are still upheld by the authority of our Alma Mater, or the dry comments on Locke's Essay which are delivered in private lectures to a few unwilling hearers at Cambridge.

Next to Moral Philosophy, the study in which the Scottish universities are most distinguished is Political Economy. It is sufficient to mention the names of Adam Smith, of Ferguson, and of Stewart, in order to establish their claim to the almost exclusive possession of this science. At Oxford the only work on this subject known among the university exercises is Aristotle's Politics. If a student would stray beyond the beaten track, he is di-

rected to Plato's Republic. At Cambridge nobody thinks of political economy as a branch of university education.

In the experimental sciences and the different branches of Natural History the superior claims of Edinburgh are perhaps still more conspicuous than in Moral Philosophy. In all these subjects Oxford and Cambridge are lamentably deficient; for although the chemical chair at Oxford has been respectably filled for some time past, yet until some new circumstances shall attract a greater number of students in the physical sciences to this university, it will be impossible that a sufficient stimulus to exertion should exist. With respect to the other physical sciences, we may judge of their progress at Oxford by a fact which we can state on the best authority; viz. that no addition has been made to the botanical collection since Linné, when a youth, (afterwards the great Linnæus) paid it a visit in the course of his travels undertaken in pursuit of knowledge. At Edinburgh similar objects are diligently pursued by crowds of students, and are sedulously taught by the professors. The teacher of chemistry in the college delivers lectures to a class which generally exceeds the number of three hundred; and several individuals unconnected with the university publicly teach the same science to numerous audiences. But the Edinburgh school in mineralogy and geology has higher merits than in any of the other departments of physical science. It would be saying little to assert that it is the first in Britain: except the school of Freyberg it has no rival in Europe; and the present professor must be considered as the founder of British geology.

The numerous classes of students who attend the professors of the physical sciences are supplied by the great numbers of young men who resort continually to Edinburgh to pursue the study of medicine. It is a remarkable circumstance that, though the medical schools of the English universities receive so partial a countenance from the College of Physicians, who refuse even to admit within their body graduates of all other universities, yet their medical schools have long been at the lowest ebb, or can scarcely be said to have any existence. It is not difficult to explain this fact. The longer period of attendance, and greater expenses which are incurred by students who graduate at the English universities, will naturally tend to diminish the number. But the chief reason why it is so very inconsiderable must, in our opinion, be sought for in another quarter. It may be found in the abandoned and degraded state to which the medical profession is every where reduced in this country, without the limits of the bills of mortality. In London the College of Physicians permits no man to practise this profession who has not received an academical education; but in the country and provincial towns no controul whatever is exer-

cised. We believe that there are many self-called physicians, who have no pretence whatever for assuming that character, not even the shallow pretext of a credential bought for a few guineas; and the enormous supply of diplomas, which are continually distributed from those pestilent nurseries of quackery in the north of Scotland, gives but little better claim to the multitudes who purchase them. We know that men of respectable attainments sometimes become sharers in these venal favours, but they will be disposed to join us in deprecating the promiscuous distribution of them. In fact a great proportion of the physicians in England are men who were educated to be compounders of drugs or men-midwives, and who cover their successful imposture by the sanction of a Scottish university. By the success of such persons the profession is not only degraded, but its real value is depreciated; and its profits are so much diminished that very few young men will be found willing to undergo the labour and expense of an education in the universities, especially in the English universities, except those who intend to reside in the metropolis, where such abuses are not tolerated.

If we were compelled to express in a few words our opinion of the comparative merits of the Scottish and English universities, we should say that the latter provide well for the *general* education of the mind, and for that early culture of the faculties which is absolutely necessary for their perfect developement; but that in the second part of education, or in providing resources for the attainment of knowledge in the learned professions, which is the chief pretension of such establishments, Oxford and Cambridge are exceedingly deficient. The ecclesiastical profession is indeed the only one which obtains any solid advantages, and finds any means of instruction in these academies; for, except the mathematics, all modern sciences, both moral and physical, are, if not absolutely discountenanced, at least not encouraged, or made a subject of the university examinations. In the examinations for degrees in Law and in Physic, little or no cognizance is taken of the knowledge which has been acquired in these very pursuits. At Cambridge an absurd regulation prevails that no man shall be allowed to graduate in physic who has previously taken a degree in the arts; accordingly the graduate in medicine goes forth without having ever been allowed to give any public proof that he possesses the smallest tincture of science. At Oxford the regulation with respect to these matters is diametrically opposite. It is very wisely exacted of every individual who takes a professional degree in this university, that he shall previously have gone through the regular course of studies in the arts; but there is no separate examination for Divines, Lawyers, and Physicians; and the keeping of acts, which was intended as a substitute for it, has degene-

rated into a mere formal ceremony. In Edinburgh, on the contrary, no adequate means exist for literary attainments, and the mathematics, though taught by professors of respectable talents, are yet but superficially studied; but all the modern sciences, both moral and physical, are made the subjects of public lectures in this university, and an acquaintance with them is required of those who take degrees.

The plan of reformation and improvement which has been adopted in Oxford is a most auspicious indication, and gives us reason to entertain the most sanguine hopes. From the ample resources which that university possesses we may expect the most important advantages, when she shall have wholly escaped from the trammels of prejudice. It could be scarcely possible for the system of education at Edinburgh to be so far altered as to embrace the peculiar excellencies of the English universities; but it is in the power of Oxford to erect on her admirable foundation the most perfect superstructure. The whole system of scientific instruction, which has acquired distinction for the Scottish academy, might be added without the smallest difficulty to the course of studies pursued at Oxford. By such an extension of its plan we have little doubt that Oxford would soon take the precedence of Edinburgh as much in sciences as she does now in literature. The glory of the latter is upon the wane; her professorships are becoming hereditary, a sure symptom of decrepitude in such institutions.

With respect to Mr. Wainewright's work we have no objection to offer to it, unless it be to the panegyrical manner in which it is written, and to which we observe no exception. We cannot say that the author appears to us to have a very luminous conception or comprehensive view of the design and utility of university education. The academy in which he was bred is with him the paragon of all excellence, and he seems to look up to the decrees of the Cambridge senate-house as to an oracular authority.

Art. XV.—*Lives of Edward and John Philips, Nephews and Pupils of Milton: including various Particulars of the Literary and Political History of their Times.* By William Godwin. 4to. pp. 410. Longman and Co. 1815.

The names of the Philipses owe their preservation chiefly to the enshrining ember of Milton's name: yet they were authors by

profession, and not without intrinsic and independent merit. A loose general association is connected with the elder Philips as the biographer of Milton, and as the first collector of the lives of our poets; but by these only was he remembered. The younger, the more indefatigable, and in his day the more popular of the two, had sunk into utter oblivion. Both their connexion with Milton, and their variety of powers as public writers, should have prevented this; and Mr. Godwin has rendered an acceptable service to the curious in literary history by rescuing the names of the Philipses from neglect, and by placing their writings upon record.

This in fact seems the proper scope of the work before us, although the author has persuaded himself that he is illustrating the character of Milton. Milton, however, would naturally form a conspicuous figure on the canvas, and the political circumstances of the times would consistently appear in the back ground. By a person of Mr. Godwin's particular bias in every thing that respects civil government the occasion of historical observation was not likely to be neglected.

But to Mr. Godwin's peculiar dialectics we should not have looked for any thing very valuable in the science of political philosophy. Tumultuary changes in national institutions usually cause an ebullition of new opinions, and excite a spirit of active inquiry and boundless speculation. These theories commonly reflect the genius of the times that produce them. The civil troubles of Charles the First's reign called forth the "Oceana" of Harrington. The unhappy attempts of the king, to oppose the naked prerogative to the popular sentiment of constitutional liberty that was rapidly developing itself, had induced a general distaste for kingly sovereignty, and the "Oceana" was a scheme of democratic policy adapted with skill to the genius of those times. The revolution in France was at first hailed, even by persons the most attached to the regal branch of our constitution, as the just overthrow of a deadening and degrading system of monarchical and aristocratical despotism, and as opening a new æra in the progress of the human mind. But it was the demon of innovation, and not the spirit of reform, which rode on the tempest. This crisis produced in England "The Political Justice." From a writer who boasted that he had sat at the feet of those modern Gamaliels, Helvetius and Rousseau, nothing could have been anticipated but a cold-blooded sophistry, strangely mixed up with visionary enthusiasm. Every thing was questioned in politics and in morals which natural reason suggested, and which experience had confirmed as favourable to human happiness and virtue. Individual duties were merged in generals: a sense of abstract justice,

regarding only the sum of public good, and operating as the single motive of every action, was pronounced to be exclusively virtue. The supposed duties that spring from sympathy were thenceforward to be abandoned as contemptible and vicious. Charity and pity were renounced as interfering with the only lawful rule of action, inflexible justice: gratitude was stigmatized as a vice of the most odious selfishness. Even the affection of a child to its mother was, with a frigid barbarity, ridiculed as absurd; because in yielding to the sexual impulse, instrumental to the conception of the infant, she was not actuated by a direct regard to its benefit. To these conclusions, deduced with subtle concatenation from premises where "all was false and hollow," it was sufficient to oppose the intuitive common sense of mankind, and the constitution of human nature. Men persisted in treading the old track marked out for them by an omniscient Creator, and in acting upon motives which, not directly regarding the end of utility, unerringly attained it. It was even to be feared that had Mr. Godwin himself been sleeping in a house that was on fire, a wretch, and that wretch Mr. Godwin himself, could have been found so lost to abstract justice as to snatch his wife or children from the flames, though at the risk of depriving England and the world of the author of "Political Justice."

In his political axioms, however, the philosopher was more intelligible. He fell in with the maxim of universal revolution: and when he pronounced government itself "a mere quackery;" penal laws as applying the fetters and strait-waistcoat of a mad-house to sane persons; and robbery and fraud the fruits, not of wilful idleness and deliberate preference of profligacy, but of the monopoly and ostentation of the rich; they who in their eagerness after change had taught themselves "to despise dominion and speak ill of dignities" felt elated that they could bolster their crude notions with the syllogism of the "New Political Philosophy," and rise from vulgar levellers to the rank of disciples and illuminés.

The book, however, was both too costly and too abstruse for the mere populace, or we might have trembled for its possible effects; perhaps some gaols might have been burnt, and some banks broken open. They, also, who could read it probably mistook the drift and character of its author; they were not aware that while he seemed willing to

"Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
Uproar the universal peace, confound
All unity on earth,"

he was in fact addressing himself to men of calm and speculative habits; that he deprecated the blind unreasoning turbulence

of mob-insurrection; was averse to all violence, excepting only the conflict of free discussion; disapproved of the alternative of civil war, even in resistance to palpable tyranny; and disdaining the sophism of Junius, who asks Sir William Draper, whether "he thinks it a crime to stab a tyrant to the heart?" describes assassination as "directly at war with every principle of ingenuousness and candour; as delighting in obscurity, like all that is most odious in vice; as shrinking from the penetrating eye of wisdom; as avoiding all question, and hesitating and trembling before the questioner." They who clapped their hands and shouted when Percival fell could not reckon upon Mr. Godwin as their associate in the cause of political reform.

Yet the purity of his intentions will scarcely save him from the imputation of mischievous folly. The madman scatters arrows and flames, and asks, "Am I not in sport?" The sophist undermines domestic charities and social order, and inquires, "Am I not philosophising? are not these harmless metaphysical speculations?" What avails the protestation of innocent intention, when 'the insane root that takes the reason prisoner' is strewn on the highways, that the unwary and the ignorant may gather it as the manna that came down from heaven?

Many of those principles, which tended to refuse the actions prompted by sympathy a place among human virtues, have since been magnanimously retracted by the author of "Political Justice;" an illustrious instance of candour, and a fatal confession of reasoning fallibility in one who professed himself wiser than the wisest of mankind.

After his severe initiation in the Zetetic school of Pyrrho, Mr. Godwin took solace among the *Musæ facetiores*, by whom Xenophon was inspired, and proceeded to write ethical and political romances and literary *memorabilia*. We found romance in his philosophy; and it is but candid to own that we find philosophy in his romance. Fancy is a faculty which we should not have expected to find in the brain of a philosopher who had struck his hand upon his heart and felt it stone; yet fancy Mr. Godwin possesses in no common degree. Falkland indeed is a chimerical and inconsistent, we had nearly said an impossible, character; but he is the creature of a lofty and plastic imagination. Tyrrel also is a character vigorously copied from nature. This skill in painting imaginary characters has, it seems to us, unfitted him for the sober portraiture of history. In the preface to his "Life of Chaucer," he intimates that a biographer should carry into his researches the spirit of philosophy and the power of fancy: in the latter quality at least none can doubt that he has conformed to his principle. After hearing of the interview between Chaucer

and Petrarch at Padua; after being told that the veteran of Italian poesy gazed on this literary visitant from the *ultima Thule* in wonder and curiosity; after learning that "he interrogated his guest, proposed to him the most trying and difficult criterions, and exchanged with him the glances of mind and the flashes of a poet's eye;" and after being desired to "imagine" how he "answered the ordeal of the Italian, and stood up to him with the sober and manly consciousness of a poet to a poet:" after all this it comes upon us rather unexpectedly to find that the history-piece is ideal. The outline is supplied by Chaucer's embassy to Genoa, brought into connexion with the passage in the Canterbury Tales, where the clerk of Oxenforde informs the company that he had learnt his tale

> "At Padua, from a worthy clerk,
> Frauncis Petrark;"

freely translated by Mr. Godwin, "Petrarca read the tale of Grisildis to Chaucer, *who begged permission to take a copy of it!*"

It is owing to this predominance of the fancy that the heroes of his biographies are no longer beings of flesh and blood, with the known attributes of mortality; they are idealized and refined into cold and stately abstractions of the spirit of their writings. So it was with Chaucer, and so it is with Milton. But we must notice, with respect for Mr. Godwin's manly and unsophisticated taste, his constant and fervid reverence for the worthies of English literature. Though looking upon France as an enlightened nation, capable of setting an example in government to the uninstructed minds of Englishmen; yet, on a comparison of mental prowess between the two nations, he draws back with a proud defiance; he takes no pleasure in degrading the genius of his countrymen. "No tongue so barbarous," he observes in his Life of Chaucer, p. 151, 152, "as not to confess us the equals, while in reality we are in intellectual eminence the masters, of mankind."

To write comments on the life and writings of Milton it was necessary for Mr. Godwin to pass through an ordeal of purification. The soul of Milton could never stoop to acknowledge as his biographer the philosopher who introduced a proposition with the words "upon the hypothesis of a God;" *(Political Justice;)* who criticized a saying of Jesus as deficient in philosophical precision; or who thought obedience to appointed magistracies a degradation to the dignity of man.

That sentiment of "Political Justice" which condemned "monarchy as an excrescence and disease in the order of society," is, however, in perfect unison with Milton's principles: he describes a king as "a person, who for any thing wherein the public really

needs him, has little else to do but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties: to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of state; to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it." This is satire, but not argument.

Mr. Godwin had truly asserted that "monarchy and aristocracy had produced extensive evils to mankind." The states of Greece and those of modern Italy will, however, show that to ascribe the *worst* evils to monarchy we must forget that republics have existed. The want of an independent and over-ruling power in a state to depress faction and neutralize the animosities of party led Plato, who breathed the air of a republic, to confess that "a monarchy governed by written laws" was best fitted for the security of freedom and the happiness of communities. "The law," observes Pym with admirable precision in his speech against the Earl of Strafford, "the law is the boundary, the measure betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. While these move in their own orb they are a support and a security to each other; *the prerogative is a cover and defence to the liberty of the people;* and the people by their liberty are enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative."

Mr. Godwin, however, is possest of an intellect which disdains to steer by the Pharos of history, or to grasp the rudder of practical human wisdom. He thinks the time may possibly come when "the world may attain that stature of mind as for courts to find no place in it." *(Preface to the Lives of the Philipses.)* It certainly may; but to attain this stature the world must grow downwards. Cant and prejudice are by no means confined to the defenders of ancient establishments. They are found in their perfection among those vain and petulant innovators who themselves declaim against cant, and lecture dogmatically on prejudice; nor can there be a more flagrant instance of both than in the author of the book before us, which sketches the details of a period distinguished by the trial of this very experiment of a democratic commonwealth, and which reluctantly records its failure.

"No man of just discernment," observes Mr. Godwin, "can read the political writings of Milton without being penetrated by the holy flame which animated him." His political writings are, we confess, precisely those productions of Milton which we contemplate with the least veneration; not from our hatred to liberty, but from our love to something more than its name, to its genuine essence, to its good old Saxon character, guarded and defined by tangible and intelligible boundaries and distinctions.

When Mr. Godwin sees in his prophetical visions the distant

era at which Milton will be hailed as "the patriot of the world," the foreigner unacquainted with Milton's writings would naturally search them for some project of political regulation to which the privilege of personal votes in the great Athenian assembly would appear comparative slavery. It may cool his ardour in the pursuit of theoretic plans of freedom, when he discovers that Milton, this patriot of the world, whose writings none could read without catching the holy flame of liberty, had nothing better to propose than a perpetual council!

"And although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that mens minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive parliaments, I affirm that the grand or general council, being well chosen, should be perpetual: I see not how we can be advantaged by successive and transitory parliaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free government; to breed commotions, changes, novelties, and uncertainties; to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities; while all minds are in suspense with expectation of a new assembly, for a good space taken up with the settling of itself." —*(Ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth.)*

Milton, indeed, anticipating reasonably enough that the "ambition of some may not brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them," or "the jealousy of others, lest the long continuance of power corrupt sincerest men," in the agony of his apprehension from the general desire and expectancy of a restored king, catches at the expedient of an aristocratic senate, changed by partial rotation, and is willing to admit of subordinate provincial assemblies, or even of an annual democracy, if so he may escape the alternative of what he almost superstitiously dreaded,

> "veluti pueri trepidant atque omnia cæcis
> In tenebris metuunt,"

the grim and gorgon aspect of a crowned head.

But the trial had been made. The imputed tyrannical encroachments of Charles on the liberties and properties of his subjects were forgotten in the more galling grievances inflicted by a many-headed oligarchy. "The little finger of the commonwealth," says Denzil Hollis, a staunch and honest lover of freedom, "was heavier than the reins of the monarchy." And Clement Walker in his "Mystery of the two Juntas," says of the Country-Committees, that "they are excellent sponges to suck money from the people, and to serve not only their own, but also the covetous, malicious, and ambitious ends of those who raked them out of the dunghill for that employment, and to defend them in their oppressions:" and he affirms that "the peo-

ple are now generally of opinion that they may as easily find charity in hell as justice in any committee; and that the king hath taken down one star-chamber and the parliament hath set up a hundred."

That the nation were heartily tired of their republic we have the confession of Milton himself in the tract already quoted:

"I trust I shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenious men; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise to these stones to become children of reviving liberty, and may reclaim, though they seem now chusing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing."

They had, it seems, no longer stomach for the liberty on which they had been dieted under the remnant of a self-constituted parliament and a military protector. They had found the folly of hypothetical theories in matters of government, and were looking back to the old forsaken guides of experience and fact. They had been sufficiently burthened and tasked under the "keepers of the liberties of the people," and were stretching their hands eagerly for succour to a constitutional king.

Hitherto if Milton's judgement be questionable, his patriotism is unimpeached: and of the contagious fervour of his pleadings for liberty, the passage quoted by Mr. Godwin affords an impressive instance:

"Thus much I should, perhaps, have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and none to cry to, but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen, (which thou suffer not who didst create mankind free, nor thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of expiring liberty!"

But how did this earnest expostulation—this generous glow of republican zeal—this devotion in the holy cause of freedom, beseem the panegyrist and the servant of Cromwell? If, as Mr. Godwin pleads, "Milton saw the express hand of Providence in the events by which the monarchy had been overthrown, and the following government established;" and if he "viewed in Cromwell the instrument for good to a favoured people," he must have been sufficiently undeceived, when Bradshaw, with respectable consistency, withdrew from the scene after protesting against the power of the usurper to dissolve the commons: or if he still believed him the instrument of good, it must be confessed that Milton's zeal for liberty was a zeal unaccompanied with knowledge.

But Mr. Godwin is anxious to excuse Milton, and how in-

consistency may be excused there are those who may wish to learn:

"Officially he had no concern but with the foreign politics of Cromwell, and his foreign politics he for the most part approved, therefore he did not abdicate the post of Latin Secretary!"

That Milton conscientiously believed in the purity of his own motives none can doubt who have taken the measure of his lofty and capacious mind; a mind uniformly elevated to the author of his redemption, and deeply imbued with the oracles of truth. But man is a mixed being; frail, and fallible, and self-deceitful: and Milton had heated his imagination with the Greek and Roman republics, till he had brought himself to think that king-killing was a virtue of efficacy sufficient to atone for the destruction of public liberty.

If we question Milton's title to the eminent distinction of "our patriot," as "our poet," we regard him with a veneration only less than that of Mr. Godwin; and, with a reserve only in favour of Shakspeare, we should even concede to him that "there is nothing else in the compass of our literature that can compare with the Paradise Lost."

The relation in which the Philipses stood to Milton, as the inmates of his dwelling and as his pupils, Mr. Godwin professes to consider as "a new avenue of approach to the study of Milton's character." This reason for writing the work was probably thought of after it was written; for if the reader expect to be introduced into the pupil-room of Milton, and to sit familiarly at the fire-side of greatness, he will be disappointed. Of Milton in his connexion with the Philipses we see little or nothing, as nothing could be discovered: of the Philipses we know more than we knew: of Milton we knew all that Mr. Godwin has told.

Dr. Johnson, it seems, in the profundity of that ignorance which he shared in common with the rest of mankind, had contented himself with supposing that only one genuine production could be traced to the Philipses, and Mr. Godwin has found fifty. Of the merit due to his industry we have no wish to deprive him; but he has directed his whole attention to one point, and that of Dr. Johnson was divided among an indefinite number of objects in a work of promiscuous and extensive biography. Mr. Godwin assures us, that "he was never in matters of intellect, or in any thing else, of a monopolizing temper." None certainly who have read his "Political Justice" can doubt his willingness to communicate hidden wisdom. "He feared the materials of his discovery might die with him;" seized the passing moment, and produced "the Lives." An author may be indulged with a little

pompository of exaggeration in the value of that which has cost him labour: but if this discovery were of easy attainment, why should the secret be in danger of dying with Mr. Godwin; or why might not the literary harvest have been reaped by another? If it were not of easy attainment, where is the culpable negligence of Johnson? Either Johnson was excusably inadvertent, or Mr. Godwin must forego his claim to merit as a restorer of forgotten literature.

The incompetency of Dr. Johnson, of which we shall hear more than once, flashes upon us again immediately, on turning from the preface to the second page of the first chapter. "Their name was Philips: the elder Edward, and the second John;" and Dr. Johnson, "the most indolent of all biographers," has named the elder John and the second Edward.

The earliest of Milton's poems was written on the death of the infant child of his sister, the mother of the Philipses. Mr. Godwin justly commends this piece for its flowing harmony and tenderness; but when he observes that the "last stanza is particularly extraordinary, and surprises us with an uncommon boldness of prophecy," he means probably to intimate, that "the promise of an offspring that should make her name to live," in reward of her resignation to the will of heaven, was fulfilled in the person of the immortal author of the "World of Words."

Of the "infancy" of Edward and John Philips, we are told that "nothing is known!" We hear of no bees having settled on their cradle—of no serpents having been strangled in their gripe. The biographer accordingly begins from that point at which his readers would probably wish that he should begin, the period of their admission at the ages of ten and nine under the roof of their uncle.

He is then tempted to consider, "in what light these two *lads* may be supposed to have regarded their uncle at this time;" and conceives that "they must have been familiar with the loftiness of his spirit and the exalted views he took of all science, of man, and his affairs; of the principles of right conduct and the genuine characteristics of a devout spirit. They doubtless soon became acquainted with the friendships which he had left behind him in Italy, and the distinction with which he had been regarded in the different courts of that polished country."

It is probable that these *lads* of ten and nine years old did not much relish their "hard study" and "spare diet:" that they thought little about all this, cared less, and inquired not at all.

Mr. Godwin's decision on the controversial writings of Milton is perfectly just; and their character is defined with candour and discrimination:

"His learning, in points of ecclesiastical history, was inferior to that

of Usher, and perhaps of other controversialists who were engaged on the side of the Church of England. His style was harsh, perplexed, and obscure. Every where traces of a writer imbued with a magnificent poetical character burst forth, and there are many passages of a surprising and lofty eloquence; but these are suffocated in the general quaintness of the composition, and the sombre and monotonous tone which prevails throughout. Men of a genuine taste, in the present day, read these productions with ardour, eager to trace the mind and character of Milton through every stage of their progress. But such motives could not apply with equal force to his contemporaries."

It is attempted to be shown that Milton's "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," in which it is contended that the sentiment of Jesus on divorce involves no contrariety with the law of Moses, and is to be considered as advice only, and not as an ordinance, sprung merely from the general spirit of discussion excited among the reformers, and especially the dissenters in the time of Charles the First, respecting the interference of the hierarchy in the contract of marriage. Luther, Melancthon, Martin, Bucer, and Grotius, advocated a revision of the law of marriage; and Selden, after Milton, published a similar argument with the title of "Uxor Hebraica:" but if Milton were not remarkable for singularity in writing on this question, it is impossible to shut our eyes on the personal interest which he felt in the discussion; nor can we wonder that the "cavillers and censurers" "opened their mouths." Had his bride been less fond of company and joviality in her father's "great house," would the tract "on Divorce" have appeared?

The entry of Edward Philips as a student at Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, introduces the mention of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, "the ghostly confessor" of Cromwell, who was appointed President of the College. Addison's humorous account of the examination of Anthony Henley by this great Minister of the Independents (Spectator 494) is commented upon with a formal gravity, which is quite misplaced in reference to the light and playful irony of a satirical essayist:

"It is needless to observe, that this story is exaggerated to such a degree as nearly to border upon farce. It is not in human nature what is here related. Bigots and enthusiasts laugh like other men, and are, more than many others, capable of discerning humour, and displaying striking and peculiar traits of character. No president of a college, or head of a public institution, would hang his apartments with black, or close his windows at noon-day, on purpose to frighten a freshman; and if Addison means (mean) to insinuate that intellectual cultivation and classical learning were discountenanced under the dominion of Cromwell, he insinuates something wholly unsupported by the history of the times."

Mr. Godwin next proceeds to mention the official employment

of Milton as the answerer of the pamphlet "Eicon Basilike" and "the Defensio Regia" of Salmasius. But over the former he passes without particular comment: a singular neglect, as we think, in a writer armed at all points for literary investigation, and tenacious of Milton's fame. Bradshaw and Milton were accused of tampering with the printer of a subsequent edition of the regal pamphlet, and procuring the insertion of a prayer from Sidney's Arcadia, for the purpose of throwing a stigma on the king's memory. Why the king should not have adopted a form of prayer out of whatever work, if in itself apposite and unexceptionable, does not appear. Dr. Birch and Dr. Newton, however, both discredit this base and sorry imputation on Milton. But if Milton be acquitted of meanly and wickedly inserting what he designed to reprobate, his talking in the "Iconoclastes" of the king's profaning the service of prayer "with the polluted trash of romances," is, we fear, in the mouth of Milton, something not very unlike hypocritical cant. The Arcadia of Sidney is not polluted trash: the prayer in question is a fine model of supplication, and Milton was himself a lover and quoter of romances. But as we hate most cordially those whom we have injured, Milton and his party had no bowels of mercy for a murdered king.

On the "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," Mr. Godwin pronounces:

"Never did any book more completely fulfil the ends for which it was produced. It was every where received on the Continent with astonishment and applause. The ambassadors of the different governments of Europe at that time resident in London paid visits of compliment to the author. It had the honour to be burned by the hands of the common hangman at Toulouse and at Paris. Lastly, having been perused by Christina, Queen of Sweden, she was struck with the eloquence of the composition, the strength of the reasoning, and the vigour with which the author exposed the futility, the sophistry, and contradictions of his antagonist; spoke on all occasions warmly in its praise, and from that hour withdrew her favour from Salmasius. This redoubted champion sunk under his defeat, withdrew himself into obscurity, and soon after died in Holland."

Yet if we are to believe Clementius, his biographer, Salmasius died a more vulgar death than that of a broken heart. He fell a victim, not to the brandished pen of Milton, but to a fit of the gout; and left a reply to the "Defensio" posthumously published by his son. Instead of being driven from the court of Christina by the frozen aspect of her altered favour, he left it escorted by a princely attendance; and a letter from the queen to his widow testifies an almost filial affection and reverence to his memory. Mr. Godwin should disdain these common-places of mob-history.

Nothing decisive of the merit of a work published under the auspices of a government, can be inferred from the visits of ambassadors. The subject would naturally awaken curiosity, and the opponent of Salmasius would attract continental interest. Johnson justly says of Salmasius, that he undertook his task with little knowledge of the principles of society or the rights of government. To defeat an assailant, who argued from the *jus divinum*, which is only intelligible when applied to the authority of law, required no extraordinary abilities; but if any "astonishment" is to be raised by the reply of Milton, it must be of a very different sort from that which Mr. Godwin supposes. The amazement is, that the powers of Milton should be so prostrated. The tract is utterly deficient in temper and dignity: prolix, pedantic, and vituperative to an excess of ribald grossness and puerile personality. Hobbes, in his "Behemoth," (part iv.) has characterized the rival tracts with perfect discernment:

"They are very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is better, and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is the worse; like two declamations pro and con, made for exercise only in a rhetoric-school by one and the same man. Johnson humorously observes on the intolerable verbal trifling of Milton, to whom, however, he gives the palm in elegant latinity, 'no man forgets his original trade; the rights of nations and of kings sink into questions of grammar, if grammarians discuss them."

We should have thought that Mr. Godwin would not have contented himself with this mute amazement at the controversial prowess of Milton, but that he would have delivered his sentiments on this remarkable epoch in English history, and examined, in the spirit of candour and with the discerning eye of a philosophical historian, the merits of that act which Milton exhausted his profane as well as scriptural learning to defend. It is in the discussion of what, in fact, forms the main question, the legality of the king's trial, that the futility of Salmasius and the vigour of Milton are apparent in Mr. Godwin's estimation? Salmasius comes to the inquiry, "Who they chiefly were that gave sentence against the king?" and Milton replies, "It ought first to be inquired, how a foreigner and a French vagabond came to have any thing to do in raising a question about our affairs?" Salmasius asserts, that "not the hundredth thousandth part of the people consented to this act of condemnation;" and Milton asks, "Whether the rest of the people were stocks or stones, or painted Britons in a scene? and affirms it a thing incredible that a warlike nation should be subdued by so few:" in other words, that the undisciplined and unarmed should be mastered or overawed by regimental janissaries. Salmasius observes, that "one of the estates of Parliament, the House of Lords, was removed;

and that one part of the Parliament, and that the inferior branch, ought not to have assumed the power of judging and condemning the king." Milton answers, that "the Lords were removed very deservedly, as they were only shadows of the king; that the House of Commons was the chief part of Parliament, and that it was an entire Parliament in itself without the Peers." Salmasius urges, that "the whole House of Commons themselves were not admitted to have part in the trial of the king;" Milton replies, "that part were not admitted who had openly revolted to the king in their minds and counsels." Salmasius affirms, that "the members were secluded by the English army," and Milton sturdily clings to the phrase as a concession, that "they were not an army of foreigners, but of most valiant and faithful honest natives."

If violence be vigour, the vigour of Milton must be allowed to have triumphed over the tame law and fact of Salmasius.

In denying the competency of the tribunal that tried him, Charles stood on a rock from whence he could not be removed. Bradshaw might justly tell him, that "how firm a friend he had proved himself to the liberties of the people all the world may judge;" yet it was for the liberties of the people that Charles actually pleaded, when he withstood the usurpation of the judicial power by the Commons. Bradshaw, however, has been absurdly accused by Hume of audacity in his deportment towards the king. He seems only to have done his duty in a judicial office. The fact of illegality in the proceedings does not affect his conduct on the bench. In taking his seat there, he must of course assume that the court was a legal court. It could not be expected that he should comport himself at all differently from a judge who might be conscious of his lawful capacity. Having once consented to sit as the judge of Charles, he was obliged to affirm the competency of his jurisdiction. It would have been an abandonment of his proper dignity, and of his duty to the government *de facto* which appointed him, had he wavered in this point and allowed Charles to dispute the competency of the court appointed to try him. We do not see how Hume's objection applies; because we do not see how Bradshaw could have acted otherwise than he did. If Bradshaw sate there at all, he was to consider himself as the president of a court of judicature, and Charles as a prisoner at the bar. Bradshaw on one occasion apologized for the necessity of interrupting the king; and his apparent harshness throughout arose from the same necessity of affirming the competency of his own jurisdiction.

Mr. Fox observes, in his "History of James the Second," that this singular proceeding has served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general; and that the

impression made on the minds of foreigners has been rather that of respect than of disgust and horror. The impression must arise from a want of attention to the peculiar character of the tribunal: an inattention to the charge of which Mr. Fox himself appears amenable in his statement of the cause which he assigns to this foreign sentiment:

"The guilt of taking away the life of a king is what most men, in the place of Cromwell and his associates, would have done. What there is of splendour and magnanimity in it, I mean in the publicity and solemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of displaying."

Surely the act is rendered tenfold more dark in its dye of iniquity from this very solemn mockery of the awful forms of justice. Guilt is never so detestable as when it cloaks itself in "robes and furred gowns," and holds the mace of sacred authority. The character of magnanimity could only be due to a judicial assembly freely and fully delegated by the people of England; and could never, by any sophistry of language, be applied to the committee of a sham parliament—a parliament from which the majority had been excluded by the point of the bayonet. Charles was arraigned, not before a Senate, but before a self-constituted junto, calling themselves in contempt of fact the Commons of England. His trial was, therefore, a mummery, his execution a murder, and Mr. Fox's observation unwise and unfeeling.

Mr. Fox, however, has answered the advocates of the king's death, even on the supposition that the court which had tried him was a fairly chosen and competent tribunal. "To justify the taking away of the life of an individual upon the principle of self-defence, the danger must not be problematical and remote, but evident and immediate. The danger in this instance was not of such a nature; and the imprisonment, or even the banishment of Charles, might have given to the republic such a degree of security as any government ought to be content with. With respect to England the *example* was wholly useless, and, therefore, unjustifiable, since the office of a king was to be abolished, and no person would be in the situation to make it the rule of his conduct."

It is in this manner that we should have expected Mr. Godwin to sift and separate the merits of this momentous political question: and we think that he was fairly bound to do so, in order to guard himself against the possible suspicion of a dereliction of his own principles. We had been told in the "Political Justice," that "in the question of resistance to government, force ought never to be introduced without the most imminent necessity, and that the history of King Charles the First presented an instance of the fatal consequences of force. The original design of his opponents was that of confining his power within narrow and palpable limits. This object, after a struggle of many years, was fully ac-

complished by the parliament of 1640, without bloodshed, except, indeed, in the single instance of Lord Strafford, and without commotion. They next conceived the project of overturning the hierarchy and monarchy of England in opposition to great numbers, and in the last point, no doubt, to a majority of their countrymen. Admitting these objects to have been in the utmost degree excellent, they ought not, for the purpose of obtaining them, to have precipitated the question to the extremity of civil war."

Has the astonishment of Mr. Godwin at the gigantic powers of reason exhibited in the "*Defensio pro Populo*" overwhelmed his principles? or must truth, that talisman of Oromases, in quest of which the author of "Political Justice" set out on his adventures to the *terra incognita* of the new philosophy, must truth itself be veiled before the shrine of Milton?

That the thanks of posterity were due to the original long parliament cannot be denied, unless the principles of the constitution be given up. It was a question whether a king of England should govern by the laws, or by his own will. From the assertion of Mr. Godwin that the civil war, improperly termed by Clarendon the rebellion, was precipitated for the purpose of overturning the monarchy, we absolutely dissent. It was in a manner forced upon the parliament as a measure of self-defence. The conduct of the king in secretly sanctioning a military conspiracy to overawe the two houses, after openly giving his assent to bills of redress and reform, is on record. Rush. Col. vol. iv. Even after Charles was reduced to absolute dependence on the parliament, the Presbyterian majority of the Commons, so far from entertaining an intention of setting the king aside, adhered to their original plan of tendering propositions, on the acceptance of which the king was to be re-instated. That the Peers were voted useless, the Commons purged by violence of the constitutionalists who formed the majority, and the king arraigned and condemned before an oligarchical junto, was the work of Milton's hero and his gang of Independents.

The answer to Milton entitled "*Apologia pro Rege*," ascribed to Dr. Bramhall, but really written by John Rowland, an episcopal clergyman, brings into notice the younger Philips, who, "now twenty-one years of age, and, as he styles himself, '*ingenii nondum pubescentis*,' undertook, with the zeal and ardour so characteristic of that period of human life, to essay his talent against a production unworthy the notice of his illustrious uncle." Yet we learn immediately after, from the testimony of the elder Philips, that "the task of answering the anonymous apology was *committed* to him by Milton himself; but with such exact emendations before it went to the press, that it might very well have passed for his uncle's work; but that he was willing the person

that took the pains to prepare it for his examination and polishment should have the name and credit of being the author."

This reply of John Philips, which Mr. Godwin improperly calls his "Apology," (the title is "*Responsio ad Apologiam*,") gives occasion for some declamation on the "lively and glorious name which the nephews of Milton would have acquired among men, if, in return for the immeasurable benefits they received in early life, they had devoted a part of all their following years to the succouring his infirmities, and the *propelling* all attacks upon his reputation."

The biographer of Chaucer could be at no loss in filling up the gap of John Philips' early employments. "In Milton's office of Latin Secretary, it is probable that he would stand in need of clerks to assist him; and it is *not unlikely* that *at least* the younger of the nephews served him at that time in such a capacity."

Milton was meanly reproached with his blindness as a judgment from heaven for his defence of the regicide committee. Perhaps Milton also allowed himself to reflect with some complacency that he had broken the heart of Salmasius. Such is the malignity which political rancour engenders even in great and virtuous men. The magnanimity, however, and the Christian firmness of resignation which he displays, in noticing attacks thus dastardly and inhuman, deserve all the reverence which Mr. Godwin can bestow upon them: the passage "*Me sortis meæ neque piget neque pœnitet*," &c. brings to our recognition the author of those beautiful and solemn aspirations of faith and fortitude, which infuse a kind of peculiar holy unction, in the "Samson Agonistes."

On the forcible dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, Mr. Godwin thus comments:

"The constitutional executive being finally removed by the death of Charles the First, that power became avowedly vested in a council of state. Men do not easily brook a sovereign authority exercised over them by such as a few days before were their equals: there is nothing in a board of council calculated to seize upon the imagination; and soldiers, who had vindicated the cause of liberty, and conquered in the field, were apt to look with a certain degree of superciliousness and disdain on the gowned senator; who, as they understood it, while others had sustained the blows and spilled their blood in the cause, entered quietly and without risk into the fruits of their labours. *For these reasons* many were of opinion that the Long Parliament and its authority should be discarded, and that the state should be renovated by a new infusion of *vigour* from *another quarter*. Accordingly Harrison, Overton, Rich, Okey, and others, men of the purest principles concerning the public good, encouraged and supported Cromwell in his violence of the 20th of April."

Such are the reasonings, and such the notions of government, of a man who has the arrogance to talk of the world having not yet attained to the full stature of manhood, since courts can still find a place in it; and such is the promise of security to freedom which they who cant of republics hold out to us as the bribe of our political conversion.

These *patriots of pure principles*, who thought the sword a fit instrument for the distribution of civil authority, had leisure, it seems, to repent of their drivelling imbecility.

"Harrison and Rich were sent prisoners to remote castles: Overton was shut up, first in the Tower, and afterwards in the isle of Jersey; Vane was imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle; Okey was cashiered; still Milton adhered to the Protector."

For this adherence Mr. Godwin thinks that he can discover sufficient justification in the character of Cromwell: "Cromwell had long and justly 'won for himself golden opinions from all sorts' of those men who placed the welfare of their country in a republican government. There was something so plain, so rough, so frank, so honest in him, that it was impossible for a man of an open spirit to distrust him. His professions for the cause of true religion and true liberty had been ardent: nor had they probably been more ardent than sincere. 'A friend is not to be deserted for every cause:' and the man of greatest integrity, in the pursuit of some momentous good, will often stand in need of a liberal construction."

This is to trifle egregiously with the common sense of his readers. The motives of Cromwell's honest patriotism were surely plain enough, when he had accepted the protectorship from Barebone's Parliament: and if the dupes of his knavery were for a moment blinded by his assembling of a more equal representation, he must have pretty well opened their eyes when he dissolved the assembly, on their prying a little too closely into the legitimacy of his power. "The momentous good" of which this man of integrity was in pursuit is sufficiently evident from his reported sarcasm on Harrington; who in his "Oceana" had credulously expressed his assurance that the Protector would establish a commonwealth. The Protector, "so plain, so rough, so frank," observed, "the gentleman had like to have trepanned me out of my power; but what *I have got by the sword* I will not quit for a little paper shot."

That Cromwell was ever sincere in the cause of liberty the most prejudiced credulity could never entertain the belief. Personal ambition was his ruling principle: the master-passion which it was his constant effort to disguise, whether under the mask of a soldier's bluntness, or the assumed sanctimoniousness of

the Puritan. It does not indeed appear, nor does it perhaps ever happen in similar cases, that he looked at once to the point which he ultimately attained. He often varied his course: he changed his political attachments accordingly as the party which he joined appeared likely to advance his designs; he shifted from the Presbyterians to the Independents, from the parliament to the army. There is nothing of the unity and consistency of sincerity in his conduct. That he meditated at one time the restoration of the king, and was in actual correspondence with him for that object, is established by very sufficient documents: but self was still at the bottom; and the stipulated price of his loyalty was the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. The intercepted letter of Charles to his Queen, in which, with a duplicity not to be defended, he observes that "he should know in due time how to deal with the rogues: who, instead of a silken garter should be fitted with a hempen cord," was asserted by Bolingbroke to have been in the hands of Lord Oxford. This determined Cromwell; and his ambition 'grew by what it fed on.'

Mr. Godwin has blazoned the invincible courage of Cromwell: of his political courage none can doubt; but Mr. Godwin should at least have been aware that Cromwell's personal courage has been questioned. Denzil Hollis in round terms charges him with cowardice:

"I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth (and I think I shall not be mistaken, if I say that Cromwell himself has heard it from him: for he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall, when Cromwell passed by him; with a design he might hear him) that when the whole army at Marston Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it was running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward: when he came up to them in great passion; reviling them with the name of poltrons and cowards; and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell shewed himself; and in a pitiful voice said, "Major General what shall I do?" he, begging pardon for what he had said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as his superior officer, told him "Sir, if you charge not, all is lost." Cromwell answered that "he was wounded and was not able to charge:" His great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldiers' pistols. Then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and sending one away with him, who very readily followed wholesome advice, led them on himself; which was not the duty of his place: and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his party's pernicious designs. I have

heard a parallel story of his valour from another person, Colonel Dalbier, not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major General Crawford: who told me, that when Basing-house was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood at a great distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge." *(Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis.)*

Cromwell has fared better with posterity than his character, if narrowly looked into, will be found to deserve. The royalists were inclined to regard him with comparative favour from his aping kingship; and perhaps they conceived him as filling the throne by a sort of temporary inter-regnum, and as having done the royal cause service by quashing the commonwealth. The people were induced to forget the brutal levity with which he dispersed the existing legislative body, in consideration of the ability and vigour of his government with respect to foreign relations; and his discreet choice of judges and ministers at home. But his plans of state, as Catharine Macaulay has shown, fell far short of those of the parliament-council; which in its schemes of foreign policy resembled the cabinets of other infant republics in grandeur and energy of ambition.

Mr. Godwin affirms that when Cromwell intruded with an armed force upon the deliberations of the remnant of the Long Parliament, they were consulting on their own dissolution; and preparing a suitable government to succeed, "with the freest system of representation that Great Britain ever knew." Yet Hobbes asserts (Behemoth, part iv.) that "there came out daily *from the army* petitions, addresses, remonstrances, and other such papers: some of them urging the Rump to dissolve themselves, and make way for another parliament. To which the Rump, unwilling to yield, and not daring to refuse, determined for the end of their sitting the fifth of November 1654. But Cromwell meant not to stay so long."

If however it be admitted as unequivocally certain that the Long Parliament was voluntarily occupied with these statesmanlike and patriotic views, and had not rather in contemplation the perpetuity of their own sitting, on the plan of Milton's grand council, what shall we say of Mr. Godwin's candour, when he observes with respect to him, who at the head of an insolent soldiery "divided and dispersed" this his "great council" of deliberating patriots, and crushed in the bud these promised fruits of freedom, "that a friend is not to be deserted for every cause?" what shall we say of it, but that like the soul of Sebastian it

Can take in all and room enough for more?

The fact seemingly is, that Mr. Godwin feels himself compelled to panegyrize Cromwell, whom in a political sense he

despises, and whose "ill omened administration," with respect to home-affairs, he justly characterizes as "a series of despicable experiments on the nature of government, calculated to bring the very names of patriot and republic into contempt," from the necessity which he has prescribed to himself of upholding Milton, as the standard of an ideal impeccable purity.

The history of parties is introduced by Mr. Godwin with the information of the defection of the Philipses from the political standard of their uncle; which he very aptly compares, "*ut pueris placeat*" to the traitorous correspondence of Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Junius Brutus, with the Aquilii and Vitellii. When he proceeds to say that "the character of the two parties who had engaged themselves for and against the house of Stuart at this time is not generally understood," may we be permitted to ask, where is the misunderstanding? Do we require to be told that "the assertors of liberty were not only at war with the encroachments of the princes, who succeeded on the death of Elizabeth; they were also adherents of a religious party called the Puritans?" That the licentiousness of the cavaliers was affected in opposition to the austereness of the round-head or republican party is a point in the history of manners "*lippis notum et tonsoribus.*"

The influence on our literature of this courtly antipathy to decency is sensibly noticed by Mr. Godwin. "It is curious to observe that no poet could expect to be allowed to enter under the court-standard, till he had written some piece of gross and shocking indecency: and accordingly in the volumes of Carew, of Suckling, of Cleveland, of Denham, there uniformly occurs one or two copies of verses of this description; not written, if we may judge from the general tenor of their works, so much to gratify any inherent depravity of their dispositions, as by way of an oblation offered up to the demon of the times."

The effects of this perverse demoralization long lingered in the national poetry after the cause had ceased to operate: our poets and dramatic writers unconsciously surrendering themselves to the force of fashion and literary custom, and persisting unreflectingly to confound indelicacy with wit, and to represent the violations of domestic morality as indicative of spirit and high breeding. Even Pope, in a poem of elegant gallantry, polished and retouched to meet the eye of a highly bred lady, has scattered terms and allusions so grossly obscene as to excite the astonishment of La Harpe, that the nation could endure them. Such is the magic of a poetical name, that Johnson, the determined foe of all impurity either in thought or expression, contended that "Prior was a lady's book: and that no lady was ashamed to have it standing in her library." Possibly not: and

"custom had brazed" even the lovely forehead of Arabella Fermor, so that she probably read the Rape of the Lock without a blush. Yet where, unless in the Contes of La Fontaine shall we find a parallel to the broad indecency of Prior?

We who love a royal commonwealth, because we love a well-regulated and well-secured freedom, are yet not particular admirers of the slitting of noses and the cropping of ears; still less when inflicted on men of cultivated minds and manners, who feel such outrages with keener sensitiveness, though the barbarity is the same when exercised on the illiterate; and least of all are we fond of such outrageous exhibitions of penal terror, when the courts that sentence the penalty are erected in open defiance of the spirit of criminal justice recognized by English legislation. The barbarous and oppressive punishments which the courts of Star-chamber and High Commission severally decreed on Prynne the lawyer, on Bastwick a physician, and Leighton, a learned professor, for alleged libels, deserve the indignation which Mr. Godwin, we suppose, is not singular in expressing. With Mr. Godwin "we cannot wonder that every free spirit throughout the realm rose up against such a mockery of law," though we do not perceive the force of his inference, if the inference be meant, that such are the necessary and inseparable evils of kingly government.

Something would perhaps be said by a dispassionate historian, if not in extenuation, at least in explanation, of councils thus violent and arbitrary. Something might be told of the prejudices of preceding times; of the alarm excited by the new-fledged boldness of popular resistance to power or doctrine, hitherto unquestioned: of the critical brink of danger, on which Charles and his favourite ecclesiastic both stood, when the least rash step might precipitate their ruin. Both Charles and Laud had the misfortune to live at an era when a zeal of enquiry and a sense of the value of freedom to human happiness and improvement were fast gaining ground on the barriers of mystical government and arbitrary doctrine, with the force and profundity of an irresistible intellectual ocean.

The rash and ill-advised attempt of Charles, to seize in person the five obnoxious members in the Commons' House, of which it might be said in the elegant language of Bolingbroke, "well might he repent; for the vessel was now full, and this last drop made the waters of bitterness overflow," is by Mr. Godwin oddly connected with the character of his attendants on that occasion, described by Milton "as the spawn and shipwrack of taverns and dining-houses;" unlike, probably, the godly psalm-singing musqueteers who drove the parliament out of doors; and we are told of the general confession of Symmons, in his vindication of king

Charles, of the profaneness and impiety prevalent in the royal army. The dissolute manners of his army seem to have not much connexion with this extraordinary step of the king. "This," however, continues Mr. Godwin, with exquisite taste, "brings us to the *express* consideration of the Aquilii and Vitellii."

We beg to assure Mr. Godwin, once for all, that we have the greatest respect for his attainments in Roman history.

From this second classic announcement of the new political associates of the Philipses, we were not prepared for the disappointment that awaited us. "In the obscurity of their story it is not possible to fix on the precise individuals."

It must content us to know that the royalists were become "fugitives and vagabonds:" the natural condition of those who fly from republican oppression. They were become also "plotters and conspirators;" that is, they were acted upon by similar notions with the adherents of subverted governments in all ages and countries, and endeavoured to regain what they had lost, and to restore the system of things which they thought the best.

It is justly observed that the profligacy imputed to the court of Charles the Second is unnecessarily referred to his exile in a more licentious circle of society abroad; as there were materials for this after-licentiousness in the court and army of Charles the First, notwithstanding the personal decorum of the king. It might also be mentioned that Charles the Second was likely to plunge into pleasures and to encourage gaiety and excess in others, from a recollection, not of foreign luxuries, which he never enjoyed, but of foreign privations: the mortifying neglect of the French court, and the parsimonious supplies doled out to him by Mazarin through Henrietta Maria. This wandering life of the exiled Charles throws Mr. Godwin into a new paroxysm of Political philosophy; "a king, he profoundly observes, is an artificial and unnatural personage;" Good old Lear had made a similar discovery of man himself: "ha! here's three of us sophisticated! off, off, ye lendings! come, unbutton here!" Yet we would exhort Mr. Godwin to preserve the "dignity and decorum" of his spectacles and surtout.

Mr. Godwin sets himself down to account metaphysically for the buffoon propensities of the courtiers of Charles the Second; and he discovers that "persons in desperate circumstances" eagerly resort to jackpudding tricks and low jocularities. But we were lately told that the seeds of profligate gaiety, were sown in the court of the first Charles, in the zenith of its prosperity and splendour.

It was to be expected that Mr. Godwin should feel a repugnancy, a disgust, and an obstinate spirit of dislike towards the restorer of the Royal prerogative. In this feeling he is not sin-

gular. He is supported by a man who, whatever doubts may exist as to the soundness or comprehensiveness of his political views, has been generally considered (with what propriety this is not the place to examine) as entitled to the praise of candour and generosity of sentiment. The same abhorrence of arbitrary power which influences Mr. Godwin, and which distinguishes, we presume, the sound constitutionalist no less than the theoretic republican, actuated Mr. Fox in his reproaches towards Monk. These charges are met with manliness, temper, and ability, by Mr. Rose, in his answer to Mr. Fox's history.

The imprudence of neglecting to provide for the security of liberty by a bill of stipulations, which would have obviated the necessity of a new revolution, and of a change in the hereditary dynasty, must be admitted; but there seems no reason why an unfavourable construction should be put on the motives of Monk. By the mere act of re-establishing the crown, he certainly did not re-establish arbitrary power, but the constitutional prerogative; and it was so understood by the nation. The moment was critical and pressing; the parties in a state of irritation; the army wavering; delay might have rendered the design abortive. The declarations of the king, however imprudently, might have been taken as sufficient pledges that the liberties of the subject would be respected. Above all, the people at large were clamorous for a free parliament, with which they invariably associated the re-instatement of the old kingly authority. Dr. Welwood observes, "It looks as if heaven took more than ordinary care of England, that we did not throw up our liberties all at once on the restoration of the king; for although some were for bringing back the king upon terms, yet after he was once come, he possessed so entirely the hearts of his people that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant or for him to receive." Monk, in what he did, had at least the people with him, and did little more than yield to the national enthusiasm which urged and goaded him on.

The difference between Mr. Fox and Mr. Godwin is here, however, very apparent. Mr. Fox is impressed, like the more thoughtful and far-sighted of the statesmen of that day, with the folly and madness of re-admitting the king without conditions; and is unable to conceive that such a step should have been taken without the co-operation of base and treacherous apostasy from the cause of the people. Mr. Godwin has no attachment to the constitution of his country; its ancient forms are with him the the rubbish of old prejudice; he is for an endlessly successive rotation of new constitutions drawn fresh and fresh from the pigeon-holes in the Abbé Sieyes' cabinet. Above all, as Hannibal swore hatred to Rome, Mr. Godwin has sworn

at the altars of revolutionary fanaticism eternal antipathy to royalty. Solinus was called the ape of Pliny, and Mr. Godwin aspires to be thought the ape of Milton. The offence of Monk had been, in his eyes, the same, had a bill of rights, however carefully framed, been tendered to and accepted by the king: still his loyalty would have been treason to the nation; and a return under the government of the lawful head of the constitution would, in the language of Milton, have been a creeping poorly back into an Ægyptian bondage.

"He does not appear," says Mr. Godwin, "to have been of an ambitious and enterprising mind." Had he been so, and had he concentered the functions of the executive in his own person, he might possibly have secured Mr. Godwin's esteem; but "to possess himself of the vacant supremacy was a thought (poor spiritless being!) that had no charms for him;" and in restoring the regular executive, he must have been influenced by the reflection that "a king could reward him with titles and estates, the meed most suitable to an unenterprising man."

Yet when Sir John Grenville offered this meanly interested man from the king a hundred thousand a year, with the office of Lord High Chancellor and Constable of England for himself, and the nomination of any other of the great offices, he replied, that "he would not tie the king to any terms of reward; and that he took more comfort and content in that now he hoped he was able to do his king and his country service, than in expectations of greatness." *(Method of the King's Restoration. By Dr. Price.)*

Mr. Godwin had forgotten his maxim, that the man of greatest integrity in the pursuit of some momentous good will often stand in need of a liberal construction. This measure of candour, it seems, may be extended to an "enterprising" usurper, but not to the restorer of a legitimate king.

Clarendon is held up as "dark and bigoted, endued with the spirit of a high priest; and, which is perhaps singular, indifferent at the same time, even as to the plausibility of his means, and to every sentiment of honour and fidelity to the engagements to which he had pledged his master. He considered it as the first object of his administration to cut off the possibility of a second rebellion, and so narrow were his views, that he judged the persecuting and trampling upon a hostile party to be the surest way to deprive it of its courage and its sting. Meanwhile such is the fate of Clarendon, that the inflexible gravity of his manner, and the measured prolixity of his discourse, when contrasted with the versatile inconsistencies of the 'skipping, dancing, worthless tribe,' by which his master was constantly surrounded, served him for character, and has handed him down

in the unconsidered verdict of vulgar fame as one in the band of England's noblest patriots."

This writer, with the usual air of being profound, is contemptibly shallow in discernment of character. We give up to Mr. Godwin's indignation the infractions of the declaration from Breda and the persecutions of the dissenters. But Mr. Godwin is incapable of understanding that a man may act injuriously and weakly on honest motives. Though to prevent rebellion and to uphold the hierarchy may be contemptible objects in Mr. Godwin's eyes, they were not in those of Clarendon; and if he understood human nature ill, and was not wise enough to "struggle and get free" from the prejudices of his time, he might still have the interests of his country at heart. Mr. Godwin tells us his faults; why are his virtues suppressed? or had he none?—That he was a constitutionalist is no quality of political wisdom in Mr. Godwin's judgment; but it is in ours: and he is reproached indirectly by Hobbes for maintaining in the declarations of Charles the First, which were penned by Clarendon, sentiments unfavourable "to absolute monarchy, as also to absolute democracy or aristocracy; all which governments they esteemed tyranny, and were in love with a sort of monarchy, which they used to praise by the name of mixed monarchy, though it were nothing else but pure anarchy."

It is amusing to observe the meeting of extremes in Hobbes the monarchist, and Mr. Godwin the republican: the latter has maintained, in his "Political Justice," that the separation of the deliberative, judicial, and executive powers in government, constitutes an anarchy.

It is said that Clarendon's gravity served him for character. This is a gross and calumnious libel on the ministry of Clarendon, who redeemed many of his errors by the fidelity with which he repressed the stretch of the royal prerogative, and the firm integrity with which he opposed the lavish grants of the king to rapacious favourites and mistresses: this, in fact, was the secret offence which dug the pitfall of disgrace beneath his feet. We are told also, ridiculously enough, that "his long periods" served him for character; and this is spoken of a history, which, in the painting of state characters, and in political instruction, places its author by the side of Tacitus and Davila. If also, as Mr. Godwin remarks of Milton, "it be not possible to separate an author from his book," shall the air of probity and sincerity, and a virtuous candour which pervade this venerable history, plead nothing in favour of the man?

We trust it is not necessary to be a republican in order to sympathize with Mr. Godwin's just abhorrence respecting the disinterment of the bodies of eminent persons of the common-

wealth, and their ejectment from the walls of Westminster Abbey. Mr. Fox's idea of the insults practised on the body of Blake was taken from Neale's History of the Puritans. Dr. Johnson observes on this conduct, "Had he been guilty of the murder of Charles the First, to insult his body had been mean revenge; but as he was innocent, it was at least inhumanity, and perhaps ingratitude." *(Life of Blake, Gentleman's Magazine.)* Gray, however, denies the story. But the disinterment still remains on record to the scandal of Charles. Mr. Godwin is, however, mistaken when he talks of Blake's body having been huddled with others into one common pit. Bishop Kennet, in his Historical Register, (536,) proves that it was at least decently re-interred in St. Margaret's churchyard. In mentioning May, the biographer, whose corpse was among the number, Mr. Godwin might have told us something of the author of "The History of the Long Parliament," and the Latin continuator and English translator of the Pharsalia of Lucan.

Lambert and Vane were put on their trials in contempt of the promises of indemnity held forth to those who had not directly participated in shedding the blood of the king. On the trial of the latter Mr. Godwin has some remarks which, however applicable to the particular case in question, are imbued with the characteristical splenetic colouring which his reasonings always assume when employed on the existing institutions of his country. It was not to be expected, that the author of "Political Justice" should neglect an occasion to revile the character of a judge; "back-wounding calumny the whitest virtue strikes:" but when he accuses the present judges of England with "feeling delight in checking, in rebuking, and trampling upon the prisoners brought before them," and with being "more anxious to degrade and dishonour than to inflict the censure of the law," we disdain to offer a refutation.

Sir Henry Vane would naturally excite the sympathy of Mr. Godwin in no common degree. To a zealous idolatry of the republican form of government he united, what was usual in that age, a strong religious fanaticism. What by Cromwell was pretended was felt by Vane. He preached and prayed, but in a peculiar cabalistical strain of language. In his ideas of universal restitution he is countenanced by men whose religion is rational, and whose powers of philosophical demonstration are accurate and clear; but in Vane this was only one of many flights of thought, in a mind sublimated by religious metaphysics into that sort of frenzy of imaginary inspiration, which we might suppose to exist in the fanatic founder of a new religion. His arraignment was a mockery of justice, and his mode of exe-

cution brutal; but he pleaded his cause and yielded up his life with the dignity and self-possession which enthusiasm inspires.

Of Shaftesbury Mr. Godwin speaks like one of the vulgar: there is the same deficiency of historical penetration with the same pretension of acuteness and sagacity. As Shaftesbury insisted, in opposition to Monk, that public liberty should be secured by conditions on which alone the king should be restored, he seems to have had some claim to the charity of Mr. Godwin; but Mr. Godwin finds that to inquire and to distinguish are useless to philosophic intuition. That Shaftesbury first "became a party to the worst measures of the court of Charles," is inferred from his continuing in the ministry; as if he might not by so doing be in fact rendering, or labouring to render, the most essential services to his country; as if the official access to the royal person were not the most probable mean of obtaining an ascendancy in the councils of the sovereign! Both Rapin and Baxter specifically notice his disagreement in opinion with the majority of the *cabal* of which he formed a part; and are astonished how he could keep his place. No suspicion had ever been cast upon him by the patriotic members of the House of Commons; and Russel and Lyttleton, and other leaders of the country-party, never ceased to be in his intimacy and his friendship. Locke says of him, that "in all the variety of changes of the last age he was never known to be either bought or frighted out of his public principles." It was soon after his acceptance of the great seal that he manifested his fixed hostility to the bigot James. There is a well-known anecdote of the chancellor refusing to enter on his official business in the House of Lords, till the Duke of York should have removed from the right side of the House, where he had placed himself to affect the state of hereditary prince, and taken his seat on the left. On this occasion the duke, with his wonted urbanity and gentleness, called the chancellor "a rascal and a villain;" and the chancellor thanked the duke that he had not also called him "coward and papist."

Yet Mr. Godwin would have us believe that Shaftesbury's hostility to the duke and his execrable faction arose out of his dismission from office "in the year 1672," (the date is properly 1673;) a dismission for which, in fact, the way had been prepared by the Protestant zeal of Shaftesbury in resisting the declaration of indulgence, which was meant as a cloke to the Papists. Mr. Godwin's assumption that Shaftesbury, from the period of being discarded from the ministry, vowed destruction against his rivals, and swore that "he would be the author of a scene that should make his name memorable to the latest pos-

terity," is a mere rhetorical flourish. By this memorable "scene" is meant the Popish plot. Was it in the "*Histoire des Revolutions de l'Angleterre*" of the the French Jesuit, Father Orléans, that Mr. Godwin plunged for this wonderful secret; or was it coined in the mint of the same fanciful invention which forged the alchymical wonders of *St. Leon?* To this romance of Mr. Godwin we oppose the sentiment of Marvell, that the zeal of Shaftesbury for the interests of Protestantism was the cause of all the "misadventures and the *obloquy*" in which he was afterwards implicated.

The mention of honest and witty Andrew Marvell induces us to express our surprise, that one of such patriotic good report, of such candour and uncorrupt integrity, so steady in his refusal of the proffers of favour from Charles the Second, lest "he should either be ungrateful to the king, whose measures he disapproved, or false to his country," that he declined the gift of a thousand pounds, unclogged with conditions, though immediately after he was reduced to borrow a guinea, should be passed over with affronting silence in a history professing to detail the literary and political circumstances of the times. We may observe, by the way, that the kind and respectful attention of Charles to a man, who had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to his minister, shows that the king possessed at least some amiable qualities, notwithstanding the Saracen-head likeness assigned to him by Mr. Godwin, who always daubs his pictures, whether he flatters or defames. That Marvell escaped Mr. Godwin's notice can scarcely be said, for he was *the fellow-secretary of Milton.* Is it that in his "Rehearsal Transposed," ii. 127, he speaks of the secretaryship in which he engaged, as "the most innocent and inoffensive towards His Majesty's affairs of any in that *usurped and irregular government* to which all men were then exposed?" We know Mr. Godwin's liberality, and we applaud the wariness of his discretion.

We now pass to the literary career of the nephews of Milton. The younger Philips first signalized his alienation from the principles of his uncle by "The Satyr against Hypocrites," published in 1655. It is a satire on the fasts and holydays of the Puritans, written after the broad manner of Chaucer, "with the aim," as Mr. Godwin shrewdly supposes, "of restoring the hierarchy and the monarchy." "The poem," he says, "affords no unequivocal indication of the company now kept by the author, with cavaliers, and *bons vivans*, and demireps, and men of ruined fortunes." It ends, however, with a solemn apostrophe, from which a few lines are extracted. The following are not without vigour:

"Are those the men that would the age reform,
That "*down with superstition!*" cry, and swarm
This painted glass, that sculpture to deface,
Yet worship Pride and Avarice in their place?
Religion, they bawl out, yet know not what
Religion is, unless it be to prate:
Meekness they preach, yet study to controul;
Money they'd have, when they cry out—*your soul.*"

Edward Philips published in 1658 "The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence, or the Arts of Vowing and Complimenting, as they are managed in the Spring Garden," &c. &c. The title is the longest and most wordy that we have seen. The book consists of imaginary conversations and forms of address; poems; models of letters; questions and answers; an art of logic; and helps of the lover in the composition of verses. "If we would forget," says Mr. Godwin, "the gross provocations to libertinism and vice which everywhere occur in the book, it might be mentioned as no unentertaining illustration of the manners of the men of wit and gallantry of that time." The specimen, however, of "set forms of expression" is wofully dull. The poems are chiefly selections. Bishop Percy took from this volume his song "Come follow, follow me, Ye fairy elves that be;" and the song of the Old and New Courtier.

The next production of John Philips was "Montelion, 1660, or the Prophetical Almanack." We are on our guard against Mr. Godwin's facilities of supposition; yet he may be right in his "conjecture that Milton had this production among others in his thoughts, when he speaks in his 'Ready and easy Way to establish, a free Commonwealth,' published February 1660, concerning "the insolences, the menaces, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies," and refers to the language of "their infernal pamphlets, the spawn of every drunkard, every ribald." The application of this rebuke to himself might at least serve to account for John Philips's unseemly bitterness against his uncle.

This Almanack was a burlesque on the "Astrological Ephemerides," which had considerable influence on the society of that day. "These, though now swept away into long oblivion, were once the oracles of their times; ladies, who commanded all other hearts, trembled at their mummeries; and generals and statesmen, who laid claim to the gratitude of a distant posterity, dared not enter on the execution of their projects, till they had consulted their science and obtained their sanction."

Mr. Godwin appears to consider Lilly as a deliberate impostor; but his remark, "that it is the folly of superficial thinkers to

imagine that human beings in past ages believed nothing that we do not believe at present," may surely be allowed to include the professors as well as the disciples of judicial astrology. Lilly should have the benefit of his age; that the practice of his art was lucrative throws no more suspicion on his sincerity, than it would on that of the possessor of a medical secret, or the teacher of some method to facilitate science. The instance of Dryden, some of whose useful prognostications are appended to his Life by Congreve, proves that a man of vigorous mind may be a proficient in this fantastic science without intending to deceive others. Lilly was probably the dupe of his own enthusiasm. In his tract entitled "Monarchy, or No Monarchy," which relates to the life and death of King Charles the First, Lilly displays considerable acuteness with an appearance of candour; but the astrologer is continually peeping out through the garb of the historian. Under a scheme of the heavens during a solar eclipse, May 22, 1639, he observes, "I will meddle little with the prognostick part of this eclipse; yet I might tell you, that Mercury, at the time of the beginning of the eclipse, represented the clergy; and he was retrogade near to conjunction with Mars; one ill omen unto the clergy: at the middle of the eclipse the Moon was their significator, and she combust and near the dragon's tail, which signified much calamity to the priests. This eclipse signified unto the king much treachery and damage by his friends the Scots." This has more the air of sanguine credulity than of empyrical artifice.

It seems difficult to conceive how judiciary astrology could ever have co-existed with a tolerable intelligence in the principles of astronomy and the planetary motions. For if the revolution of a single instant, or rather inconceivable point of time, suffice to change the position of the earth, the disposition of the stars must change with it; and the promises and threatenings of the stellar configurations must be in a ceaseless flux and mutation with respect to their celestial locality; yet these are to fix immoveably the destinies of mortal men. Mr. Godwin might have furnished an entertaining essay on the history of astrology.

The Almanack of "Montelion, knight of the Oracle," is apparently a production of lively invention, and of a smart, though coarse wit. The chronological events are satirical. The twelve months have each a page for saints' days and holydays; and one page for predictions, in the manner of Lilly. The saints are the republican leaders. At the end is a humorous catalogue of imaginary publications; among them is "A Romance of the famous Knight Sir Rumpander; how he courted the Lady Chimera, who was kept in an enchanted Castle; and he himself mounting

a wooden Engine to scale it, fell, and straightened a principal Sinue."

The popularity of this Almanack may be inferred from the author's following it closely by "Don Juan Lamberto, or a comical History of the late Times, by Montelion;" and "Montelion's Introduction to Astrology after a new but more easie Way." In the first, Sir Lambert, Knight of the Golden Tulip, and Sir Vane, Knight of the mysterious Allegories, form a conspiracy after the death of the Soldan of Britain to deprive his son, the meek knight, of the succession. The royalists are the Christians, the republicans the blasphemous paynims, and the Independent clergy the enchanters. There are both wit and ingenuity in the scheme of this satirical romance; but Mr. Godwin censures its filthiness and scurrility. An amusing extract is given, in which Sir Vane proves to Sir Lambert that the moon is made of green cheese. The "Introduction to Astrology" is a burlesque on the "Christian Astrology" of Lilly; and from the examples given shows excellent powers of light and sarcastic parody. The following is a short but pleasant specimen:

"A countrywoman demanded of me, if her son were with his master or at her own house."

"I told her I could not tell; and she went away as well satisfied as ever she was in her life, and I got my halfe crown, and I was as well satisfied as she."

Edward Philips, the elder brother, was in the mean time engaged by the booksellers as a continuator of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England, the book which Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley refers to as his standard authority. The continuation proves the honourable impartiality of the writer in his estimate of Cromwell's character, which, in our opinion, he over-rates.

A natural and somewhat interesting account is given by Philips of the first meeting of Monk and the king on the sands at Dover:

"All that were present put themselves into posture to see the meeting of the king and the general. The admirers of majesty were jealous on his majesty's behalf of too low a condescension; and the lovers of duty fearful on the other side of an ostentation of merit: but such an humble prostration was made by the general, and so generous a reception by his majesty, kissing and embracing him, that all parties were satisfied to admiration."

This Mr. Godwin calls "a drivelling style of talking." He cannot hear with patience of the politic and authorized courtesies paid to the person of a king.

Here we are told, is "an end of the offences of at least the

elder of Milton's nephews." These offences are his political attachments. The period in which he is engaged as a writer on the side of royalty is termed "the period of the young man's self-oblivion and dishonour." The conduct of the *younger* Philips in reflecting on Milton, and sarcastically alluding to him as a poet, has something of baseness in it; he owed him at least the grateful reverence of silence, if party feelings restrained his praise. But we confess our inability to sympathize with Mr. Godwin in the sentiments which he holds respecting what he considers as a sort of impious dereliction of their uncle's principles and counsels. What Mr. Godwin's ideas of individual liberty may be we know not; but it is the first time that we have heard, from an advocate of human freedom, an independence of thinking imputed as dishonour. To Milton in his double character as their uncle and their preceptor, they owed all possible deference but the sacrifice of their conscience and their convictions."

Mr. Godwin observes that "it is difficult to decide what degree of intercourse took place between Edward Philips and Milton during this period of the young man's self-oblivion and dishonour;" and he puzzles himself with balancing the probabilities of non-intercourse "from shame and conscious delinquency," and "of the apostate's being compelled as it were to visit Milton from the benignity and natural ascendency of Milton's mind;" yet, within a page or two, Edward Philips himself tells him, "that he had the perusal of Milton's great poem from the very beginning, (and it was begun in the reign of Cromwell) as he went from time to time to visit him;" and that he assisted in the correction of the pointing and orthography.

A plausible conjecture is stated that this nephew may have been instrumental in procuring his uncle's indemnity from the new government, as Sir Thomas Clarges, the brother-in-law of Monk, is one of the persons mentioned "among others" as having obtained it; and it was from this person that Philips borrowed the papers necessary to his continuation of Baker's Chronicle. The "other persons" whom Mr. Godwin is so shy of naming were Secretary Morrice and *Andrew Marvell;* an additional reason we should have thought why some tribute of notice at least might have been paid to the latter. No allusion is made to the common tradition of Davenant having interceded for Milton in return for a similar good office which Milton had rendered Davenant when taken prisoner in 1650. Richardson relates this on the authority of Pope, and Pope had it from Betterton, whose patron Davenant was. Aubrey, however, in his manuscript life of Davenant, ascribes his security, not to Milton, but to two aldermen of York.

In adverting to the stratagem of a mock funeral by which Milton eluded the proclamation of the parliament for his apprehen-

sion, printed in Kennet's Register, Mr. Godwin omits to tell us, that Charles the Second, the man who, according to Mr. Godwin's parody on Shakspeare's Richard, "could laugh and murder while he laughed," laughed at this funeral trick of Milton in hearty good humour.

Milton appears to have entertained something of the Grecian superstition as to the moral influence of music, which he made a regular part of masculine education. In his blindness he must himself have experienced the calming and intrancing power of instrumental harmonies, which are peculiarly favourable to the indulgence of sweet and solemn fancies and abstracted reveries. Both the nephews gave a proof of their musical education in each contributing a copy of commendatory verses to the "Ayres and Dialogues" of Henry Lawes, who set to music Waller's Odes, and composed the chorusses of Cœlum Britannicum, a masque of Carew.

Edward Philips collected and edited the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden, a choice suggested, as Mr. Godwin chooses to suppose, "by the taste and partiality of Milton." There needed not Milton's assistance to point out a poet who was, in his day, of such high repute that Ben Jonson travelled on foot from London to Hawthornden for the purpose of seeing him. As Winstanley has ranked Edward Philips among the English poets, Mr. Godwin has properly given a specimen of his poetry in the encomiastic verses prefixed to Drummond, which are smooth and elegant.

A translation of two novels, "The Illustrious Shepherdess, and "The Imperious Brother," from the Spanish of Don Juan de Montalvan, is ascribed to Edward Philips by Wood. Mr. Godwin seems at first inclined to doubt his being the author, from the fustian of the dedication; but who that read him in his dedications would recognize the vigorous taste and intellect of Dryden?

A work of more pretension is his "New World of English Words," 1657. From the fifth edition, 1696, which is before us, it appears rather to deserve the title of a "microcosm of words" than a world. Notwithstanding the insertion of the proper names of persons and places, ancient and modern, the whole collection is but meagre. It was afterwards attacked by Skinner in his "Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ," and by Blount in "A World of Errors discovered." But where is the dictionary that shall be proof against attack? Whatever be its demerits, or however scanty the accumulation of words, such an attempt is ungratefully despised by those who come after; it is like the foundation-stone of an edifice. Mr. Godwin justly commends the manly sense of the preface, particularly in censuring the intermixture of

foreign idioms and combinations with pure English style. It should also be said, that the meaning of words is defined in perspicuous and well chosen terms. The article "Witchcraft," savours of the times: "a certain evil art, whereby, with the assistance of the devil or evil spirits, some wonders may be wrought which exceed the common apprehensions of men." Witchcraft was then studied for the purpose of distinguishing a true witch from a false, with reference to legal conviction; and Whitlocke gives an account of fourteen persons burnt for witchcraft in a village near Berwick.

A remarkable incident in the life of Edward Philips was his appointment as tutor to the son of John Evelyn, author of "Sylva, or a Discourse on Forest Trees," one of the founders of the Royal Society, and the friend of Boyle and Sir Christopher Wren. He was afterwards tutor to Philip, seventh Earl of Pembroke, and to Isabella, only daughter and heir to the Earl of Arlington, who married, 1672, at the age of sixteen, Henry Duke of Grafton, a natural son of Charles the Second.

In an edition of the "Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus," of Buchlerus, Philips took occasion in elegant Latin, and with glowing expression, to recommend "The Paradise Lost" as a truly heroic poem.

The productions of John Philips are in a different vein. His travesties of the fifth and sixth books of Virgil's Æneid, a fashion of parody set by Scarron and copied by Cotton, elicit from Mr. Godwin, whom we are always glad to meet on literary ground, some just observations on this lowest order of wit, so blighting to the finer bloom of moral taste, and so gratifying to the spleen and envy with which men, destitute of imagination, and of the sensibility connected with it, regard those towerings of genius which soar out of the reach of their comprehension.

The publication of "Mercurius Verax," or the "Prisoner's Prognostications for the year 1675," another Ephemeris, or mock-astrological Almanack, suggests the possibility of John Philips being at this time a prisoner for debt.

The same year Edward published his "Theatrum Poetarum;" and here the quiver of Mr. Godwin's wrath is emptied of its shafts against the insolence, ignorance, and dogmaticalness, of Dr. Johnson. Dr. Johnson had said, that "from this wonder-working academy of Milton, (meaning, not as Mr. Godwin interprets it, Milton's plan for educating his nephews in conjunction with the sons of a few of his friends, but the Utopian academy proposed by Milton in his tractate 'Of Education,') from this wonder-working academy I do not know that there ever proceeded any man eminent for knowledge. The only genuine product is, I believe, a small History of Poetry written in Latin by his

nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers have ever heard."

The mistake produced by the Latin title, particularly when Latin composition was so prevalent in that age, was at least natural; and if Dr. Johnson were mistaken, there seems no reason why Mr. Godwin should lose his temper.

Mr. Godwin dissents from the opinion of Warton, who quotes the critique on Shakspeare in the "Theatrum Poetarum," as betraying the hand of Milton. "William Shakspeare, the glory of the English stage. From an actor of tragedies and comedies he became a maker; and such a maker, that though some others may perhaps pretend to a more exact decorum and ceremonie, especially in tragedie, never any expressed a more lofty and tragic height; never any represented nature more purely to the life; and where the polishments of art are most wanting, as probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native elegance."

Mr. Godwin thinks that "there needed not the pen of Milton to write of our elder poet in the ambiguous and irresolute style exhibited in the Theatrum Poetarum."

Why Philips could not have written this himself we certainly do not see; but there is nothing ambiguous, and nothing irresolute. An explicit and decided opinion is given that others, Jonson for instance, had more of dramatic art and propriety, but that Shakspeare excelled in the felicity and truth of his delineations of nature. Such was the opinion of the age, which, by Mr. Godwin's own confession, looked on Jonson as the more skilful dramatist. Such was the opinion of Milton himself, of whom Mr. Godwin had just before complained for the qualified praise of untutored nature given to Shakspeare:

> "If Jonson's *learned* sock be on;
> Or sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child,
> Warble his *native* wood-notes *wild*."

The next work of Edward Philips was the editing, with improvements, of Speed's geographical work, "The Theatre of Great Britain.

John Philips, after the example of his brother, undertook the office of an annalist, in the continuation of "Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars: "The most foul-mouthed and scurrilous," says Mr. Godwin, *of all* the royalists who have attempted to hand down to us the history of their own times." The reader of the "Defensio pro Populo" will perhaps discover that foul-mouthed scurrility was not the exclusive attribute of the royalists. Philips has the indecency to speak of Milton, the answerer of Salmasius, as "since stricken with blindness." Whatever may have been

Milton's private offence, (and that some there was it is but charity to suppose,) the rankling of the nephew's revenge is equally mean and malevolent. He is, however, determined to be loyal, and tells us of those two renowned *patriots*, Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford.

John then betook himself to the translating of folio French romances. Mr. Godwin appears astonished at his industry, and well he might." "Almakide, the prototype of Dryden's "Conquest of Grenada," appeared in 675 folio pages, closely printed in double columns; and "Pharamund" in no less a number of pages than 1173, and all in the course of a twelvemonth. The rise of this fantastic species of heroic novel, in which Brutus, Horatius Cocles, and Lucretia, draw maps of the island of tenderness, is amusingly described by Boileau in the extract which Mr. Godwin has given. Mr. Godwin asserts that Corneille and Racine formed themselves upon Scuderi and Calprinède. The assertion is rather too unqualified. The gallantry which over-runs the French tragedy may probably have been borrowed from the tone of the romances in vogue; but whatever was durable and beautiful in these "pillars of the French theatre" was constructed on the models of Lucan and Euripides.

A third folio was furnished in the same year, 1677, by Philips; in the translation of Tavernier's Travels. This is preceded by a history of the revolutions of Astracan, and of the first enterprises of the Turks; and a larger discourse is promised on the rise and progress of the Turkish and Tartarian empires.

In a note on the ninth chapter Mr. Godwin refutes with spirit and intelligence the appropriation of certain "Poetical Reflections" on Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," by Mr. Malone and Mr. Walter Scott, to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Wood denies that the duke procured Dryden to be bastinadoed, and says that he only wrote, or *caused* to be written, "Reflections" on the said poem. Malone, whom Mr. Scott has unwarily followed, assumes that a pamphlet entitled "Poetical Reflections," can be no other than the reflections alluded to by Wood; and from this assumed fact infers that Buckingham was not capable of writing the "Rehearsal." Yet if even these were proved to be the identical reflections, Wood tells us that he either wrote, or *caused* to be written; and we are still no nearer the proof that Buckingham was the author.

An account of the Popish Plot introduces John Philips, not greatly to his credit, as the friend of Titus Oates. As there is so much of infamy attaching to this man, *one* anecdote in his favour may claim to be recorded, as it proves that he once actually had compunctious visitings like other men. The Duke of Albermarle's chaplain, Dr. Price, in his "History of the King's Restoration,"

relates that Overton having formed a conspiracy to surprise Monk at Dalkeith, and a debate ensuing how to dispose of him, "The most desperate (Syndercomb was in the conspiracy) were for killing him upon the place. But one of the godly (judging that it would be a scandal for them to kill a man in cold blood when he was in their power) openly protested that he would discover the plot if they proceeded upon that resolution. Whereupon the conspirators broke up the meeting for that time. Now because this interposition of conscience saved the general's life, and probably some of his servants also, I will gratefully mention the man; it was Mr. Oates, then a chaplain of note among those conspirators." Oates contrived afterwards to part with his conscience, and to retain the title of "one of the godly."

The zeal of John Philips, after receiving a ray of illumination from the politics of his new associate, broke forth in a pamphlet, 1680, entitled "Dr. Oates's narrative of the Popish Plot vindicated." From this slough of villainy he emerged at length in a translation of "Ladulphus's History of Œthiopia;" and in the contributory aid afforded by him to the excellent old translation of "Plutarch's Morals."

A still higher attempt was his translation of Don Quixote. It is characterized by Mr. Godwin as "a work of great power and spirit;" but he adds "it is the power and spirit of John Philips, and placed at an immeasurable distance from the character and style of Cervantes:" it is in fact "Cervantes travestied;" the original is vilely parodied into English manners and allusions; and Cardenio, instead of inveighing against Queen Madasima and her Squire, rails on "The Queen of Trumps" and "Tom Thumb."

Mr. Godwin refers to the defence of the Shepherdess Marcella upon her unexpected apparition at the funeral of Chrysostome, as beautifully given by Shelton in the translation of 1612. "The venerableness of the style, the rich and easy eloquence with which it steals upon the soul, are such as no modern language can equal." The eulogium is not overstrained. Shelton is one among many instances of old racy translations having slid into oblivion. As Mr. Godwin has not given any extract, we shall supply the omission by a few passages, for which, as the work is extremely rare, our readers will easily pardon us:

"And even as the viper deserves no blame for the poyson she carries, although therewithall shee kill, seeing it was bestowed on her by nature, so doe I as little merit to be reprehended because beautifull; for beautie in an honest woman is like fire afarre off, or a sharp-edged sword, for neyther that burnes, nor this cuttes any, but such as comes neere them. Honour and vertues are the ornaments of the soule, without which the fairest body is not to be esteemed such. And if that honesty be one of the vertues that adorneth and beautifies most the body and soule, why

should shee that is beloved because faire adventure the losse thereof to answer his intention, which onely for his pleasures sake labours that shee may lose it with all his force and industrie? I was borne free; and because I might live freely I made election of the solitude of the fields. The trees of these mountaines are my companions; the cleare water of these streams my mirrours. With the trees and waters I communicate my thoughtes and beautie. I am a parted fire and a sword laid aloofe. Those whom I have enamoured with my sight I have undeceyved with my words; and if desires be sustained by hopes, I never having given any to Chrysostome or any other, it may well be said that he was rather slain by his owne obstinacie than by my crueltie; and if I be charged that his thoughts be truest, and that I was therefore obliged to answer unto them, I say, that when in that very place where you make his sepulchre he first broke his minde unto mee, I told him that mine intention was to live in perpetuall solitude, and that only the earth should gather the fruits of my solitarinesse and the spoyles of my beautie; and if hee would, after this my resolution, persist obstinately without all hope and sayle against the winde, what wonder is it that hee should be drowned in the midst of the gulfe of his rashnesse? If I had entertayned him, then were I false; if I had pleased him, then should I doe against my better purposes and projects. Hee strived, being persuaded to the contrary; he despayred, ere he was hated. See then if it bee reason that I bear the blame of his torment? Let him complayne who hathe been deceyved; let him despayre to whom his promised hopes have fayled: let him confesse it whom I shall ever call; let him vaunt whom I shall admit. But let him not call me cruell or an homicide, whom I never promised, deceyved, called, or admitted. He that calls me a savage and a basiliske, let him shunne mee as a hurtfull and prejudiciall thing; he that calls me ungrateful, let him not serve me; he that's strange, let him not knowe me; hee that's cruell, let him not follow mee; for this savage, this basiliske, this ingrate, this cruel and strange one, will neither seeke, serve, know, or pursue any. I have a free condition, and I doe not please to subject mee. Neither do I love nor hate any. I doe not deceyve this man or sollicite that other; nor doe I jest with one and pass the time with another. The honest conversation of the Pastoras of these villages and the care of my goates do entertaine me. My desires are limited by these mountains; and if they doe issue from hence it is to contemplate the beautie of heaven; steps wherewithall the soule travels towards her first dwelling." (Book ii. ch. 6.)

The tasteless and useless parody of John Philips naturally awakened an emulation to surpass it; and Shelton, who, as Mr. Godwin remarks, "had satisfied the public for seventy-five years," was trodden down beneath the throng of succeeding rivals. There is something in Don Quixote particularly suitable to English genius. Perhaps the Spaniard and the Englishman have traits of character in common. The temperament of each is compounded of pride, melancholy, and chivalrous honour, with a strong relish of peculiar humour, and a zest for the ridiculous in character. Sancho Panza may claim consanguinity with many

an English humorist; and perhaps his wit resembles the wit of no other country but England. This may be the cause why we are enabled to boast of several translations of Don Quixote, varying in their degrees of merit, but none contemptible, and some excellent; as for instance those of Ozell, the translator of Molière, and Motteux.

Mr. Godwin is equally right in his judgment on the old translation of Plutarch's Lives, by Sir Thomas North, as representing the rambling artless garrulity of the grey-headed philosopher of Cheronæa, with a characteristic simplicity which is vainly sought in "the finical and exact spruceness" of the Langhornes. "The Lives," by Dryden, Creech, and others, deserve a similar preference. They have errors and incorrectnesses, but they have easiness of style, and breathe the spirit and manner of Plutarch.

Mr. Godwin declares himself "happy" in an occasion to contradict what he chooses to term "the wretched fancy" of Dr. Johnson respecting the slow and concealed progress in public opinion of "The Paradise Lost." "Its reputation," says Dr. Johnson, "still advanced, till the revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and the poem broke into open view with sufficient security of a kind reception." On this elegant tribute to Milton, for such it assuredly is, Mr. Godwin becomes ungovernable: prose sinks beneath him, and he suddenly appears before us, like the angry Chremes, bellowing through a mask:

> "———— There's no such thing:"
> It was the slavish temper of his soul
> That shap'd the baseless notion."

"Man is not so poor a creature as Dr. Johnson imagines. Englishmen, however debased by the restoration and the unprincipled politics of Charles the Second, were of too generous a frame of spirit to want to be taught by a king what they should admire."

This is the rant of a schoolboy. It has nothing of the practical observation of life about it. Lord Lyttleton was no slave, though he had the misfortune to be a Lord; yet *he* had observed, (Dialogues of the Dead, xiv.) "the politics of Milton at that time brought his poetry into disgrace; *for it is a rule with the English they see no good in a man whose politics they dislike.*"

Who would suppose, after this magnanimous burst of Mr. Godwin, that Dr. Johnson was in fact exerting himself to *disprove* the common prejudice of the neglect of Milton's poem? After remarking, with that practical knowledge of human life in which Dr. Johnson abounds, and in which Mr. Godwin is lamentably deficient, that "wit and literature were on the side of the court, and who, that solicited favour or fashion, would venture to praise the defender of the regicides?" He proceeds—"All that he himself could think his due from '*evil tongues in evil days,*' was

that reverential silence which was generously preserved; *but it cannot be inferred that his poem was not read, or not*, however unwillingly, *admired*."

Mr. Godwin, however, on the subject of Johnson, resembles the famous John Dennis, of doughty critical memory, more in his irascibility and abuse, than in his acumen. At the most innocent expression of Johnson,

> " He stares tremendous with a threatening eye,
> Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry."

He finds out occasions of offence with the ingenuity of a man eager and on the watch to find them. Aubrey, in his " Collections for the Life of Milton," states, that Mr. Chapell, Milton's tutor, " whipped him." Johnson good-humouredly observes, " I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either university that suffered the public indignity of personal correction." " *Erratum*, for fears is true, read hopes *may* be true," is the pettish and puerile comment of Mr. Godwin; and he calls upon us to bear witness to Johnson's manners and characteristic malignity.

> ——Mutato nomine de te
> Fabula narratur.——

In speaking of Milton's college rustication, Johnson observes, " it may be conjectured from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame."

Is this the language of malignity?

In the same note the respectable and ingenious Warton is charged by this enemy to " foul-mouthed scurrility" with " a lie," because he mistook Dr. Bainbrigge to be Milton's flagellator, whereas it was Dr. Chapell. We know not why Warton, the admiring commentator of Milton, should have come within the fraternal embrace of Mr. Godwin's exemplary liberality, unless it be that he had the misfortune to be a pastor of the Church of England, and a professor of a college.

The mention of flogging elicits a just remark as to the tendency of great establishments to perpetuate abuses from the mere force of prescription, " after they have been long exploded by the general sense of mankind; " but it suggests also a happy hit at all traditional custom and belief. When Dr. Chapell is said to respect the discipline of the birch, " because *it was handed down to us from our ancestors*," we are not slow in drawing the inference designed by the author of " Political Justice," that every thing which has been sanctioned by the wisdom of past ages is equally ridiculous and barbarous in the eye of philosophic reason.

But it is time to inquire of Mr. Godwin what he means by charging Johnson with the temper of a slave? Was it the letter

to Lord Chesterfield that impressed the notion of his sycophancy and servility? He that, after reading the recorded opinions of Johnson, shall persist in charging him with an attachment to arbitrary power in government, and intolerance in religion, must prefer the charge with the deliberate purpose of unprincipled and malignant slander. Johnson had at heart infinitely more liberality, both in religion and politics, than the world has given him credit for; but if there was one quality in his character more prominent than another, it was his sturdy independence. We can be at no loss for the cause of Mr. Godwin's rankling dislike towards a man who believed that a king and an aristocracy ensured the just balance and guarded the security of liberty, and who superstitiously loved to worship God in an episcopal church. In the other reason of his dislike he is not singular. Even Mr. Hayley, in the fondness of his enthusiasm, has joined the vulgar outcry on Johnson's enmity to Milton—to Milton, of whose poem he has penned the most masterly vindication of any English writer: to Milton, of whose abilities he has invariably spoken with astonishment and reverence, but on whom he has exercised his penetration with the freedom of an original thinker.

This æra introduces John Philips as a whig-writer of the "Monthly Historical and Political Mercury," which Dunton, the bookseller, in the "History of his Life and Errors" calls "one of the finest journals the world has ever seen." This journal was formed on the "Mercure Historique et Politique," published, as Philips supposed, by the authority of the States of Holland, which Mr. Godwin surmises was only the privilege or licence to publish. This register was continued by Philips and his successors for nearly half a century.

"The Secret History of Charles the Second and James the Second," ascribed by Wood to John Philips, a despicable production, is disproved to be of his composition by its incongruity with Philips's political sentiments.

In 1694, Edward Philips came, for the last time, before the public as the biographer of Milton. Mr. Godwin admits that this Life of Milton is "jejune and barren. The writer certainly knew much more of Milton than he has told. If he had reflected how precious every little incident of Milton's history, every reflection that he related as occurring to him in a walk or a journey on what he saw, or what he read, would have been to the poet's future admirers, he would not have confined himself within so slender limits."

Of the style of Philips in this sketch of biography, we cannot always speak with much admiration of its elegance. The following may serve as a specimen:

"And upon the heels of that, out comes in public the great kill-crow

of Christendom with his "Defensio Regis contra Populum Anglicanum;" a man so famous and cryed up for his 'Plinian Exercitations,' and other pieces of reputed learning, that there could no where have been found a champion that durst lift up the pen against so formidable an adversary, had not our little English David had the courage to undertake this great French Goliath."

Mr. Godwin considers as an instance of "blameable facility of temper" in Philips, his sympathy with the daughters of Milton, "the two younger of whom (the elder being excused by reason of her bodily infirmity,) were condemned to the performance of reading and exactly pronouncing all the languages of whatever book he should at one time or other think fit to peruse, viz. the Hebrew, (and I think the Syriac,) the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish, and French; all which sorts of books to be condemned to read, without understanding one word, must needs be a trial of patience almost beyond endurance; yet it was endured by both for a long time." But they deserved, it seems, a different kind of mention; because, as appears from the nuncupative will of Milton, they conspired with the maid to cheat him in his marketings, and sold his books to the dunghill woman. This was bad enough; but how does it appear that Philips knew of it? With Mr. Godwin Milton can do no wrong; but the irksome and uninstructive employment to which he injudiciously subjected his daughters, the tedium of which, according to Philips, "broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness," probably laid the ground of these sordid and depraved habits.

In enumerating the books stated by Philips as forming the class-books of Milton's pupils, Mr. Godwin observes, on the exclusion of Homer, Æschylus, Thucydides, Virgil, Cicero, and others, that this exclusion could not be by accident: and he gives a silly reason that "Milton probably thought it would be profanation to employ the compositions of such men as exercises of syntax and prosody." Yet among the admitted books was Lucretius: was he too insignificant to be profaned by the sullying thumb of a school-boy? This however partakes of the vulgar prejudice, that boys in learning the dead languages learn only words. Let the growing interest of an acute and feeling boy, while entering deeply into the Iliad or the Catalinarian conspiracy refute the senseless jargon, that the higher authors are profaned in the education of youth. It certainly was by design that Milton selected for his school-authors Columella, Celsus, Pliny, Manilius, Dionysius Afer, (ridiculously printed *After* in Mr. Godwin's book) Oppian and Polyœnus. But where was the wonderful acuteness of Mr. Godwin, when he did not perceive, from the subjects of the authors selected, the design of the selec-

tion? Had he not been, as usual, dreaming of his philosophical hypothesis and aiming at some grand stroke of reasoning or deep metaphysical discovery, he would have discovered that Milton wished to make ancient literature instrumental to physical science; that he did not occupy himself merely with grammar and prosody, but sought to familiarize his pupils with husbandry, medicine and natural history; astronomy and geography; the arts of hunting and fishing, and the stratagems of war. We prefer supposing that one so "profoundly skill'd in analytic" as Mr. Godwin, who

> Could distinguish and divide
> A hair 'twixt south and south-west side,

might have deduced this purpose of Milton's plan of tuition by syllogism: but had he looked with the eyes of common men into Milton's tract "on Education," he would there have seen the theory of this course of study propounded and defended. Cowley had proposed in his ideal college a similar scheme of scientific instruction. But "the truth is," observes Johnson with his usual sound practical sense, "that the knowledge of external nature, and the science which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind."

Edward Philips died some time between the years 1694 and 1698. John Philips is mentioned by Dunton in his "Life and Errours" dated 1704, as still living.

Mr. Godwin concludes his politico-literary history with an analytical survey of the character of the Philipses as authors and as men. Of Edward Philips he decides that he was "a mild and gentle being." "Once indeed," he recollects, "he was seduced into a desertion and almost a defiance of his uncle; *but he soon repented*, and *from that time*, as *he tells us himself*, continued to see him almost daily." Where does Edward Philips state his political repentance as the epoch of his renewed intercourse with his uncle? He tells us himself only that he visited Milton; and he tells us that these visits took place under the commonwealth from the very first rude beginning of his poem, as we have had before occasion to show. We will not imitate Mr. Godwin's polite treatment of Warton by calling this artful mistatement "*a lie*."

John Philips is characterized as one of "the ruggedest of mankind." Yet this does not seem very consistent with Mr. Godwin's description of him "as a writer of gay lampoons: who in order to become such *must* have collected food for laughter in convivial hours." We do not see the force of the inference, but this is Mr. Godwin's way of accounting for every thing profoundly. Dunton indeed, corroborates his convivial temper by

speaking of him as a man who "would write you off a design in a little time if the gout or claret did not stop him."

We have a terrible prosing disquisition on the probabilities of the question "whether the nephews could have been more happily disposed of?" and as to "which may be the happier man; an author who writes for bread, like John Philips, or a tradesman engaged (*as long as his faculties last*) in calculations on the English and West Indian markets." We should have thought the author of the two the more in danger of losing his faculties; particularly if he wrote Political Philosophy. We strongly recommend Mr. Godwin's question to the orators of the British Forum.

"The gout and claret" do not, to Mr. Godwin's ideas, suggest the image of "an unhappy man." An inflamed toe and a morning head-ache, are to be sure merely things of course in the life of a jovial companion. But what is somewhat extraordinary, Mr. Godwin with the full length portrait of John Philips before him, his foot wrapt in flannel, and a long-corked bottle on the table, assures us that John "*must* have possest great courage, great industry, and *great temperance*!" How, indeed, otherwise could he have translated the folio double-columned pages of Almatide and Pharamond?—The conclusion is strictly logical. The boon-companionship of this "careless," "jovial," and "rugged" being (we mean when he was *not* translating folio romances in double columns) mellows Mr. Godwin, at the close of his work, into an approving complacency towards John: and he unites the two brothers, like the Pollux and Castor of antiquity, as twins in worth and accomplishment, and tells us in good blank verse that

"They pass'd their days in credit to their grave."

Edward Philips, we are told by Wood, "married a woman with several children; teaching school in the Strand near the Maypole: living in poor condition; though a good master; and writing and translating several things, merely to get a bare livelihood." But of John Philips Wood says "he was a man of loose principles; *atheistical*; *forsakes his wife and children*; *makes no provision for them.*" Mr. Godwin is not baffled:

For he a rope of sand could twist
As tough as learned Sorbonist:
And weave fine cobwebs, fit for skull
That 's empty, when the moon is full.

He thinks he may admit, with due sceptical caution, that John Philips was a married man. Candour wrings from him a further concession, that the probabilities are, "he did not live with his wife." But Wood's account is not posthumous as to Philips;

Philips outlived him; and Philips may have lived to repent and grow domestic;—"Every reader is *free* to fill up the period of ten years as his *fancy* prompts him;" an excellent recipe for writing biography. His sons, ("if they *were* sons" cautiously adds Mr. Godwin) *may* have grown up under their father's eyes: they *may* have become *musicians*, because John Philips had musical friends!! They *may* have "soothed his paroxysms of gout;" wheeled his easy chair; accommodated his footstool; and uncorked his madeira; *because* "it is good for a man" to have such offices done for him by his near connexions! This is admirably convincing; but we are equally free to suppose, on Mr. Godwin's own premises, that the sons, if they *were* sons, beat a drum or picked pockets; and that his daughters, if they *were* daughters, took in washing or walked the pavé.

The Appendix contains the MS. collections of Aubrey for a life of Milton; the life by Edward Philips; and a judicious essay on Ben Jonson's genius and on Milton's imitations of his manner. We are glad to see some justice rendered to a poet, whose singular fortune it has been to be over-rated in his own day, and ignorantly and tastelessly neglected and depreciated in ours. We do not, however, concur in the opinion that he excels Shakspeare in humour; nor indeed can they, in this quality, be fairly compared together. Shakspeare's humour is more conversant with general nature; Jonson's with peculiar and artificial modes and manners. Still the latter has its interest to those who are curious in ancient customs and opinions; and such are all those who wish to trace the progress of society.

In mentioning the visit of Ben Jonson to Hawthornden, Mr. Godwin is induced to ascribe to what he terms the misfortune of this visit the injustice which has been done to the private character of Ben Jonson. Drummond has put down "heads of certain conversations" which took place during this visit, in which he records his opinion, that Ben Jonson was "a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others." Mr. Godwin immediately harangues on "libel," on a "treacherous alliance," and on a "diseased vision;" the latter branch of the accusation nullifies the two former. What documents has Mr. Godwin in his possession, whereby to prove the libel, or to impeach the penetration of the memorandist? We are too old to submit to be guided in our judgment of men, by appeals to the flights of their fancy, or the generous thoughts and sublime contemplations incidental to the moods of poetry. Is it that Mr. Godwin remembers the constrained reverence to princes inculcated by Drummond in his "History of Scotland?" Mr. Godwin cannot endure to have the ideal medium through which he contemplates men and things disturbed by the homely realities of

common life. He never seems to possess any knowledge of human nature, except when he is employed in the delineation and management of imaginary characters. His ideas of real life are all copied from archetypes in the metaphysics of romance. He cannot suppose a poet without "his garland and his singing robes about him;" and is alarmed and inflamed at being reminded that poets are men. Does he not know that the writings, no less than the countenances of men, are perpetually fallacious as the criteria of character? that the religious poet may be a scoffing sceptic; the sentimental, a brutal husband and an unfeeling father; the lofty metaphysician, a coarse physical sensualist? If he knew not this, and if he be startled at symptoms of meanness or peevish irritability, or envious or vindictive infirmity, in men of splendid genius, of lively sensibilities, of pure and elevated imaginations, he has hitherto fed himself on the pap and spoonmeat of philosophy, and has not yet *cut his tooth of wisdom.*

Bating the quackery of his philosophy, and the prejudice of his politics, we think Mr. Godwin has produced a work not deficient in interest or amusement. And we think his literary opinions are generally right.

The volume is embellished with three excellent engravings of the portraits of Bradshaw, Lilly the astrologer, and Titus Oates.

ART. XVI.—*The Principles of Fluxions: designed for the Use of Students in the Universities.* By William Dealtry, B. D. F. R. S. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2d Edition, with Corrections and considerable Additions. 8vo. pp. 472. 1816.

2. *Fluxions: A Treatise given under that Word, in Vol. IX. of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia.* Conducted by David Brewster, LL. D. 4to. pp. 87, double columns.

WE select the two treatises whose titles are above given, because they are the latest as well as the most able that have long appeared on a subject always interesting to men of science; and because they will lead us, on account of the different methods pursued by their respective authors, to present our own opinions on some points connected with the modern analysis, which are variously contemplated by the mathematicians of present times.

There are three topics of discussion, in reference to the invention of fluxions, on which opinions widely differ, and on which,

indeed, the authors of the treatises before us appear to take different sides: the real inventor of the method; the kind of notation employed in the explication of principles and in the practical processes; and the principles themselves on which this important branch of mathematical inquiry is made to rest.

No production of the inventive faculties ever occasioned so rapid a change in the state of the abstract sciences, nor has any led to such extraordinary and important results, as the fluxional calculus. By furnishing ready and, for the most part, obvious means of resolving geometrical magnitudes and physical actions into their constituent elements; or, contrarily, of expanding intellectually the nascent portions of either magnitudes or operations to their ultimate and permanent results; much of the structure and organization of the universe, previously either lost beneath the surface of visible things, or covered by the mist which envelopes the remoter objects of creation, has been brought from the recesses in which it was concealed for ages, and exhibited to public view. The deep secrets of nature have been extorted from her; and those extremes which elude the cognizance of the senses, have been found within the reach of this powerful calculus. Many departments of pure mathematics have received immense accessions through the instrumentality of modern analysis; and the various branches of mixed mathematics, but especially dynamics, hydrodynamics, and celestial mechanics, have, in consequence, sprung from mere incipient shoots to the stateliness and magnificence which they have now attained. That an invention thus operative and thus beneficial should be claimed by persons who had no fair nor scarcely any feasible pretensions to it, is not, perhaps, matter of surprise; but we must be permitted to think it extraordinary, that there should be some among the countrymen of the real inventor of the method, who, out of a strange prejudice, or a misplaced courtesy, ascribe it to quarters whence it most assuredly did not proceed. During the life of Newton, his countrymen and disciples were incessantly defending his reputation against those who would depreciate the value of his discoveries, as well as against those who would rob him of the honour to which he was justly entitled on account of them. Every impartial inquirer who will peruse the "Commercium Epistolicum" of Collins will meet with abundant evidence that Newton was the original and sole inventor of the new calculus in particular. Yet, if any foreign philosopher be ever prompted by his prejudice against Englishmen or English things to impute the invention to a foreign mathematician, he will soon find some courteous countryman of Newton ready to assist in supporting the unjust pretension. Thus even the last strange vagary which has been advanced in reference to this point, namely, that "Fermat was

the true inventor of the Differential Calculus," met with eager and active supporters among us.

The author of the treatise on Fluxions in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia is far from going this length; yet, we apprehend, he acquiesces too readily in the opinion of the historians Montucla and Bossut, that Leibnitz, though not the original inventor, was doubtless an *independent* inventor, of the new analysis.

It is an irksome task to re-examine the particulars of a controversy which might have been thought finally determined nearly a century ago. But when there are symptoms, on one part of resuming old and abandoned claims, on the other of relinquishing honourable and well-founded pretensions; and when the means of detecting misrepresentation are, through the lapse of time, naturally passing into fewer hands, the task of resumed investigation, though irksome, may be expedient. On the present occasion our remarks shall be as concise as possible.

We regard as unquestionable by any person who has examined with candour the documents just referred to, that Newton was the original inventor of the method of fluxions. We are, farther, decidedly of opinion that Leibnitz was not, as he has been often called, and as the Edinburgh Encyclopædia admits, the *second* inventor; but that he stole the invention, disguising the metaphysics, and changing the notation for the purpose of concealing the plagiarism. The evidence in favour of our opinion is only presumptive, but it is very strong. To us it appears as fair to infer that a man whose inveterate habits were those of a plagiarist, stole the most sublime invention to which he pretended, as it is to conclude that a confirmed and notorious thief stole the property of another that was found in his possession. The facts in the case before us are as follow; the proofs of their correctness may be seen in the collections of Collins and Wilson.

Newton invented the method of fluxions in 1665, and greatly improved and extended it in 1666. There is still extant a paper of his, dated November the 13th, 1665, in which the *direct* method is clearly enunciated. In another still extant, dated 1666, the *inverse* method is explained, and the first, second, and higher fluxions are indicated by the corresponding number of dots placed over the unknown quantity, as $\dot{x}$, $\ddot{x}$, &c. These papers were given, at a very early period, by Newton himself to Mr. Collins; from him they passed to the father of Sir William Jones; *copies* of them were obtained by several, and readily found their way into different parts of Europe, by reason of the custom that prevailed among mathematicians in those days of communicating to each other problems and discoveries. Indeed the paper of 1666 was expressly sent by Collins to Slusius, Tchirnhaus, and Leibnitz. It is also known that Leibnitz was in England in 1676,

when, according to his own acknowledgement, "he stayed some days in London, where he became acquainted with Collins, who showed him *several* letters from Gregory, *Newton*, and other mathematicians, which turned *chiefly* on series." Observe, he does not say *altogether* on series; and couple this with the fact, that in both Newton's papers of 1665 and 1666 series are treated as well as fluxions, and their application to the new calculus briefly exhibited.

The earliest distinct account we have of Leibnitz's supposed invention of the *Differential Calculus* is in a paper published by himself in the "Acta Eruditorum," Ann. 1684, Mens. Octob. The question is, did that paper exhibit a real invention of Leibnitz, or simply a modification of the method recently invented by Newton? We say the latter: what we have already stated renders this highly probable; what remains to be mentioned will, we apprehend, render it *nearly* certain. In the year 1669, among a variety of series discovered by Newton, one for finding the arc of a circle from its sine, was sent to Mr. Collins: in 1671 another series, by James Gregory, for finding the arc from its tangent, was sent to the same gentleman, who was very free in communicating these discoveries to others. Leibnitz, writing to Mr. Oldenburgh in 1674, claimed both those series; and the next year Oldenburgh sent them both to Leibnitz *as* the respective discoveries of Gregory and Newton. In 1676, Leibnitz, finding himself unable to demonstrate Newton's series, relinquished his pretensions to it; but sent again, *as his own*, that of Gregory, with a demonstration. Newton and Dr. David Gregory, who knew nothing of Oldenburgh's letter of 1675, allowed without scruple that Leibnitz was an *independent* discoverer of the series in question. At the end of about thirty years, however, Oldenburgh's letter was found among the papers of the Royal Society, where it had lain buried during that interval; and in consequence of this discovery, Leibnitz was compelled to acknowledge, in 1713, that to James Gregory the series for finding the arc from its tangent was due. Why was the contrary ever affirmed? And why was this acknowledgement so long withheld? Simply because Leibnitz wished to appropriate to himself the merit of discoveries which he *knew* belonged to others. Thus it was that he pretended to Mouton's differential method; to a property of series that had been published by Pascal; to four other series discovered by Newton; to a method of regression; to some of the principal propositions in Newton's Principia; to a series in the "Analysis per Æquationes numero terminorum infinitas," which he afterwards confessed he received from Collins; and lastly, to the Differential Analysis, at a time when it is certain he was ignorant of it. "Leibnitz," says Bossut, had "un génie vaste et dévorant, se-

condé par une mémoire extraordinaire;" and truly his faculty of *devouring* every thing that came in his way, to whomsoever it belonged, is that which distinguishes this philosopher from all other men of real talent of whom we have ever heard.

We have only to add with regard to the particular invention of the Differential Calculus, that, when he first spoke of it, in a letter to Oldenburgh, dated 21st June, 1677, he described it as easily deducible from Dr. Barrow's method of tangents; whereas, in the general account of his own calculus, in the "Acta Eruditorum," 1684, he disguises this resemblance as much as possible, and developes the method with an affected and astonishing obscurity. We must leave such of our readers as have not long ago come to a decision on this question to determine as they are inclined from the evidence before them; but, for ourselves, we confess that we consider Leibnitz's claim to the new calculus as no more legitimate than would be his claim to Archimedes's celebrated propositions relative to the sphere and cylinder.

Let us next proceed to the different *notations*, by means of which the real and pretended inventor and their respective followers have exhibited the principles and processes of this new analysis; a point respecting which, however, it will not be necessary to detain the reader long. Newton, as we have already remarked, represented the several orders of fluxions by the corresponding number of *dots* or *points* placed over the variable quantity or quantities: this notation has been universally adopted by British mathematicians till within the last ten or twelve years, during which a very few persons have employed the notation adopted on the continent. Leibnitz and his disciples having assigned the term *differential* as equivalent to what we denominate a *fluxion*, denote it by prefixing the initial letter *d* to the letter that represents the variable quantity. Thus, what a Newtonian would represent by $\dot{x}$, $\ddot{x}$, &c. a Leibnitzian would denote by dx, ddx, &c. Mr. Dealtry adopts the first of these notations; the Edinburgh Encyclopædist the second: he speaks of "the incommodiousness of the British notation," and ascribes to it some very evil consequences, which we are not sharp-sighted enough to detect. If the use of *dots* in mathematical notation is so incommodious, how comes it that nearly all mathematicians, English and foreign, employ accentual *dashes* without hesitation on a variety of occasions? Are *they* more commodious either in writing or printing than dots? And how happens it that, notwithstanding the dots had been for more than a century almost universally rejected as "incommodious" by French and German mathematicians, they were cheerfully introduced in the calculus of "variations," not only on the continent but in England, as soon as Lagrange found them fit for that purpose in his "Leçons sur

le Calcul des Fonctions?" Doubtless the original rejection of the dots by Leibnitz was for the purpose of concealing his plagiarism; and their continued rejection by others has been a mere matter of whimsey or of prejudice. As to the employment of the differential *d*, we regard it as objectionable on two accounts. 1. It is employing a character to represent a non-assignable thing, which has been uniformly employed as a symbol of a magnitude that is either known or assignable, and may therefore lead to misconception. 2dly, By so doing, an analogy in the universal language of algebra is broken. When an operation is performed upon a geometrical or other magnitude, represented by a letter, that operation is not indicated by another letter, but by a distinct and peculiar symbol: the operations of multiplication and division, for example, are indicated by the symbols $\times$ and $\div$. The states, again, in which geometrical or other magnitudes are found, are characterized, not by letters, but by distinct symbols: if, for instance, the *positive* state of a quantity a be represented by $+a$, the *negative* state, or that which is contrary to the positive, is indicated by a different symbol preceding the letter, as $-a$. The contrary states of *excess* and *defect* are denoted by $>$ and $<$, and the intermediate state of *equality* by the symbol $=$. Pursuant to this general principle, when we wish to perform that operation upon a quantity x which is called taking its fluxion, we indicate this by the superposed dot, thus $\dot{x}$; or, that state of a quantity which is regarded as its fluxion is so denoted. Here all is consistent and natural; while, on the other hand, if the *operation* or *state*, whichever it be that is contemplated, be denoted by *a letter*, as Leibnitz proposed, and as the Edinburgh Encyclopædist recommends, the analogy is destroyed, and nothing gained by it, either in respect of elegance, convenience, or utility.

Our third preliminary inquiry is of much more serious import, since it relates to the soundness and validity of the principles on which the fluxional calculus, as proposed by its great inventor, was made to rest. "Quantitates mathematicas," says he, in his Introduction to the Treatise of Quadratures, "non ut ex partibus quam minimis constantes, *sed ut motu continuo descriptas* hic considero. Lineæ describuntur, ac describendo generantur, *non per appositionem partium, sed per motum continuum punctorum, superficies per motum continuum linearum*, &c. Considerando igitur quod quantitates æqualibus temporibus crescentes, et crescendo genitæ, pro volocitate majori vel minori qua crescunt ac generantur, evadunt majores vel minores; methodum quærebam determinandi quantitates *ex velocitatibus motuum vel incrementorum, quibus generantur*, et has motuum vel incrementorum velocitates nominando *fluxiones*, et quantitates genitas nominando *fluentes*."

The question is not whether the doctrine of fluxions, or one that serves for kindred purposes, may not be established upon a principle purely analytical, namely, that of limiting ratios: but whether it may not be treated with greater simplicity and perspicuity by introducing the ideas of time and velocity. Mr. Dealtry classes with those investigators who think it may be established on this basis.

"The usual manner of treating it," says he, "is to employ considerations resulting from the theory of motion. This was the plan of Sir Isaac Newton in first delivering the principles of the method; and it is adopted in the following work, from the belief, that *it is well adapted for illustration, and calculated to give the greatest facilities to the student.*"

But this is not the opinion of the Edinburgh Encyclopædist.

"Although," he observes, "it must be allowed, that a correct notion may be formed of the fluxion of a variable quantity from this definition [including the idea of motion] yet it has been rejected by all the foreign writers on the subject, and by some of the English; for it has been *justly* observed, that to introduce motion into a calculus which treats of *algebraic* quantities, is to bring in an idea quite foreign to the subject; and, moreover, according to this view of the matter, all quantities ought, in strictness, to be represented *by lines;* a mode of reasoning which, although accurate, is nevertheless inconvenient."

This may be regarded as a paraphrase of the language of an earlier Encyclopædist:

"Introduire ici le mouvement, c'est y introduire une idée étrangere, et qui n'est point nécessaire à la demonstration: d'ailleurs on n'a pas d'idée bien nette de ce que c'est que la vîtesse d'un corps à chaque instant, lorsque cette vîtesse est variable. La vîtesse n'est rien de réel; c'est le rapport de l'espace au temps, lorsque la vîtesse est uniforme. Mais lorsque le mouvement est variable, ce n'est plus le rapport de la differentielle de l'espace à celle du temps." *Encyclopédie*, tom. vi. p. 923.

In the two latter quotations we have the sum of the objections that have been advanced against introducing the consideration of motion into the theory of analytics: let us examine them, and, agreeably to the rules of courtesy, turn first to the foreigner. This writer, in his eagerness to explode the notions of Newton, blunders egregiously, and even contradicts himself. For, first, he affirms that there is nothing real in velocity, which is equivalent to saying that it has no existence, and, therefore, that there is no motion, or that every thing is at rest; and then, notwithstanding what he has just affirmed, he attempts to define this non-existing thing, though in terms which have no meaning. Velocity, he informs us, is *the proportion of space to time*, thus confounding the separate ideas of velocity and proportion, and then speaking of the proportion of *space* and *time*, heterogeneous quantities, inca-

pable of bearing a ratio to one another. It is by such absurdities as these that the Dalemberts and Diderots attempted to drive from the field of mathematics the calculus of Newton; yet even such puerilities have found their admirers in Britain!

But the main force of the objection is directed against the introduction of an idea remote from subjects of pure algebra. "Introduire ici le mouvement, c'est y introduire *une idée etrangere*," says the French Encyclopædist: "It has been *justly* observed," remarks his British disciple, "that to introduce motion into a calculus which treats of algebraic quantities, is to bring in *an idea quite foreign* to the subject." Quite foreign! In what respect, we would ask? and from what department of mathematical science is it thus remote? The objectors say, from *algebra*. We would inquire again, from what part of algebra? Is the algebraic method of investigation restricted to quantities that are eternally and unchangeably fixed? or is it often, nay, is it not *most* frequently applied to magnitudes which are *variable?* If the latter be admitted, and these philosophers, we are persuaded, will not attempt to deny it, we could wish them to employ their ingenuity in explaining how there may be variation of *magnitudes* independently of motion. The idea of motion is foreign and ought to be excluded! From what?—from the doctrine of *mechanics*, will they say? for to that the fluxional calculus is applied. Will they exclude motion from *hydraulics?* for to that the fluxional calculus is applied. Will they exclude motion from *astronomy?* for to that the fluxional calculus is applied. Will they exclude motion from *geometry?* Here, perhaps, they will reply in the affirmative; yet we shall in vain call upon them to explain how the simplest geometrical figure can be produced without motion; or, without confining ourselves to the contemplation of particular classes of magnitude, let the imagination give to any quantity x the utmost generality, yet let it be limited by the quality of being *variable* (that being, if possible, the sole known attribute,) we affirm that the idea of motion is necessarily comprehended; for how is it possible that any *mathematical* magnitude (by which we mean one that is susceptible of mensuration,) can be brought from nothing into existence, or pass from one degree of magnitude to another, or vary its position, or its shape, or pass from existence into non-existence, without *motion*, either of the whole, or of its parts with regard to each other, or of the whole and of its constituents simultaneously? "He that is ignorant of motion," said Aristotle, "is necessarily ignorant of *nature;*" and the proposition has been generally regarded as axiomatical, until the opposers of Newton elicited the happy discovery, that if the algebraical notation and calculus be employed in investigating the figures resulting from geometrical descrip-

tions, or the effects of solid or liquid bodies in motion, or the phenomena and mutual actions of stars and planets, they are all immediately brought to a state of quiescence. What an improvement in science must that be which reduces us to the alternatives of either excluding motion from the universe, believing that there may be variation in magnitude and position without motion, or withholding from investigators the benefit of employing the modern analysis in their researches into nature!

But those who would exclude motion from pure analysis admit the thing in fact, while they deny it in words: and the Edinburgh Encyclopædist goes farther still; for, although he excludes motion from "the calculus" in the passage we have quoted, he introduces it in express words within 20 pages. When treating of "the greatest and least values of a function," he not only speaks of geometrical magnitudes as increasing to a certain value, and then decreasing; but of a curve's "receding from an axis," "returning," and "approaching towards it," and supposes "the ordinate P Q to *move* parallel to itself." Nor is this all; for, while he systematically avoids the notions of motion and velocity, never admitting them but by accident, or unconsciously, he says, "we shall retain the terms *fluxion* and *fluent*, because no good purpose could be answered by exchanging them for others." To retain terms which imply motions, when the author rejects the idea of motion altogether, is to a plain man something very like a contradiction; but the Edinburgh Encyclopædist, ingenious and even profound as some of his researches are, seems but little careful to avoid an absurdity or a contradiction: thus, while he objects to the introduction of motion in the Newtonian analysis, that then "all quanties ought in strictness to be represented by lines," (which, however, is not correct,) he hesitates not to admit in his own treatise that "a function of two variable quantities may be represented geometrically by *one* of the three co-ordinates of any point in a curve surface, the variable quantities on which the function depends being represented by *the other two*." This practice of admitting implicitly what they reject explicitly, is, so far as we recollect, confined to the opposers of Newton.

Having dwelt thus long upon the three topics of discussion specified at the commencement of this article, we shall now proceed to explain concisely the different methods of developing the principles and rules of the new calculus pursued in the two treatises now before us.

In the Edinburgh Encyclopædia the author of the article FLUXIONS adopts the principle of *limits*; not, however, as it has been usually explained by British mathematicians, but nearly

according to the complex view of the subject given by Lacroix, Francœur, and some other French analysists. He first proves by way of lemma that, V being any positive quantity whatever, and p and q any two whole numbers, of which q is positive, and p either positive or negative; we have always

$$\frac{1 - V^p}{1 - V^q} = \frac{p}{q} V^{z(p-q)}$$

where z is a certain quantity, which in every case is of an intermediate magnitude between 0 and 1; and in the case where p is a negative number, is contained between the narrower limits of $\frac{-p}{-p+q}$ and $\frac{q}{-p+q}$. This being established, the author proceeds to educe from the five functions x^n, log. x, a^x, sin. x, cos. x, one general property or " analytical fact," x being supposed variable, which is thus enunciated:

" Let $f(x)$ denote any expression or function, formed from a variable quantity x, and constant quantities. Suppose x to be augmented by the increment h, so as to become $x + h$, by which the function will change its value and become $f(x + h)$; then, in every case,

$$\frac{f(x+h) - f(x)}{h} = p + \text{H};$$

where p is a new function of x, which is independent of h; and H is a function of x and h, which has the property of vanishing when $h = 0$: so that p is a *limit* to which the function which expresses the ratio continually approaches, as h decreases."

The proof of this " analytical fact " occupies no less than 20 closely printed quarto columns; and it is made the foundation of an analytical theory which has a two-fold object:—

" 1. To determine the limit to the ratio of the increments in any proposed function.

" 2. To determine, on the other hand, the function, having given the limit to the ratio of the increments."

Such of our readers as have been at all in the habit of looking at mathematical subjects in this enigmatical dress, will know that this " two-fold object " is equivalent to the *method of fluxions* of Newton, and the *differential calculus* of Leibnitz." These preliminary matters, however, being duly exhibited, the definitions and notation are presented, the theories of the *direct* and *inverse* methods explained, and a great variety of applications succeed. Of these it would be unjust not to say that several are exceedingly ingenious and interesting, being evidently the production of mathematical talents far above mediocrity. That of which we are most inclined to complain is a love of complexity and abstruseness, with a corresponding horror of simplicity and conciseness. Several portions of the treatise, however, are

exceedingly elegant, notwithstanding the prevailing bad taste of the author; and some of the rules for the management of "fluxional equations of the first order, containing two variable quantities," are truly valuable.

One of the simplest specimens we can select of this author's manner, is that in which the formulæ for drawing *tangents* are investigated. The mathematical reader will easily supply the diagram from its description.

"Let CPD be any curve referred to an axis AB, and let PQ, P′Q′, be two consecutive ordinates, and AQ, AQ′, the corresponding abscissa, A being the origin of the co-ordinates. Through P′P, draw the secant P′PS meeting the axis in S, and draw PE parallel to the axis, meeting P′Q′ in E. But the abscissa $AQ = x$, the ordinate $PQ = y$, and QQ′ (the increment of x) $= h$. As y is a function of x, when x becomes $x + h$, by Taylor's theorem (art. 53) y becomes $y + \frac{dy}{dx}h + \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}\cdot\frac{h^2}{2} + \frac{d^3y}{dx^3}\cdot\frac{h^3}{2\cdot3} + \&c.$; but P′Q′ is the value of y corresponding to $x + h$; therefore P′Q′ = the preceding series, and $P'E = \frac{dy}{dx}h + \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}h^2 + \&c.$ and $\frac{P'E}{h} = \frac{P'E}{PE} = \frac{dy}{dx} + \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}h + \&c.$ Now $\frac{P'E}{PE}$ is the trigonometrical expression for the tangent of the angle P′PE or S; therefore $\tan. S = \frac{dy}{dx} + \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}\cdot\frac{h}{2} + \frac{d^3y}{dx^3}\cdot\frac{h^2}{2\cdot3} + \&c.$ Suppose now $QQ' = h$, the increment of x, to be continually diminished; when Q′ comes to Q [the learned author should have shown how it CAN *come* there without "the cumbersome apparatus" of motion and velocity] the two points of intersection P′, P coincide, and the secant P′PS becomes PT, a tangent to the curve at P; and as the angle S becomes then the angle T, and $h = 0$, we have

$$\text{tangent angle } T = \frac{dy}{dx}. \qquad (1.)$$

"The segment TQ of the axis comprehended between PT the tangent, and PQ, the ordinate at the point of contact, is called the *subtangent*. By trigonometry, $\tan. T = \frac{PQ}{TQ} = \frac{y}{TQ}$, therefore

$$\text{subtangent } TQ = \frac{dx}{dy}y. \qquad (2.)$$

"Hence, in the right angled triangle TPQ, we have

$$\text{tangent } PT = \frac{y}{dy}\sqrt{(dx^2 + dy^2)}. \qquad (3.)$$

"Draw PN perpendicular to the tangent at P, the point of contact, meeting the axis in N; the line PN is called a *Normal* to the curve at P; and QN, the segment of the axis between the ordinate and normal, is called the *Subnormal*. By the elements of geometry, the angle

1

QPN is equal to the angle T; now we have found tan. T $= \frac{dy}{dx}$; therefore observing that PQ $= y$, we have by trigonometry and geometry,

"Subnormal QN $= \frac{dy}{dx} y$. (4.)

"Normal PN $= \frac{y}{dx} \sqrt{(dx^2 + dy^2)}$. (5.)"

Here, excepting the singular way in which the author falls into the *fallacia suppositionis* by making the secant pass into the tangent, the deduction of the requisite formulæ is moderately simple.

On the whole, indeed, we regard this encyclopædal essay as correct and elaborate; but it is not a treatise on *fluxions*, nor ought it to have been so denominated. Kirkby might as well have called his "Doctrine of Ultimators," or Landen his "Residual Analysis" a treatise of fluxions; for Kirkby and Landen, as well as this author, solve by their respective methods problems of the same kind as are usually subjected to the fluxionary analysis, that is, to the analysis invented by Newton. If a work in which the fluxional notation and the idea of motion are systematically excluded, may be called a treatise on fluxions; we should find it difficult to assign any reasons why Euclid's "Elements" should not be designated a treatise on Astronomy, or Abernethy's Lectures on Surgery, a complete system of Geometry.

The plan adopted by Mr. Dealtry is open to no such objections. Into his work nothing is admitted but what has been all along regarded as appertaining to the fluxional calculus, or its interesting applications; while from it scarcely any topic is altogether excluded, but what is usually referred to some other branch of analysis. His manner of conducting the several investigations unites, in an eminent degree, the valuable characteristics of simplicity and perspicuity. He indulges no fondness for display, no affectation of abstruseness; but, as far as possible, unravels intricacies and removes obstacles, and to this end presents his series of propositions in the most lucid and logical order.

"It must not be forgotten (observes this author) that one of the great benefits to be derived from mathematical studies is *the discipline of the mind*. The mere knowledge of certain truths is, to the great body of literary men, a matter only of secondary importance when compared with the advantages which result from the exercise of the understanding, and the improvement of the reasoning faculty. The Elements of Euclid have, in this view, been justly considered as of singular excellence. Their peculiar value arises in a great measure

from the perspicuity of every part. The chain of reasoning is preserved entire, and the reader proceeds from step to step with the argument fully before him, and with an evidence of its truth which cannot be doubted.

"It were to be wished that all elementary books might, as far as possible, be composed upon this principle. *Abstruseness is never to be affected for its own sake;* and it scarcely *can* be affected by those who regard the *benefit of others* as the end of their labour."

Mr. Dealtry has never lost sight of his own maxims; he commences with the simplest principles, and gradually exfoliates the whole system of fluxional verities. Like the great inventor of the calculus, which in this work he professes to explain, he contemplates mathematical quantities of all kinds as produced by motion. The quantity which is thus generated is called the *fluent* or the *flowing quantity*; and the *fluxion* of a quantity at any point of time is regarded as "its increment or decrement, taken *proportional* to the velocity with which the quantity flows at that time." It is shown that the *fluxion* of a quantity must, 1. "Be a limit between the preceding and succeeding increments. 2. Be proportional to the increment of a quantity which flows uniformly." The definitions and principles are aptly illustrated by a reference to the phenomena of bodies falling freely, in consequence of the incessant action of the gravitating force; and the usual rules for finding the fluxions of products, quotients, fractions, powers, and roots, are thence deduced. From these initiatory particulars the author passes in succession to the maxima and minima of quantities; the methods of drawing tangents and asymptotes to curves; the finding of fluents; the areas of curves; the contents of solids; the lengths of curves; the surfaces of solids; the centres of gravity, gyration, oscillation, and percussion; second, third, and higher fluxions; the points of contrary flexure and regression; the radius of curvature; spirals; the conchoid of Nicomedes; the attractions of bodies; logarithms; the motion of bodies (as the planets) affected by centripetal forces, and of bodies in resisting media; fluents, and fluxional equations; the maxima and minima of curves; the variations of triangles and caustic curves. The work is terminated by a valuable collection of more than a hundred problems, in which are exhibited the application of fluxions to numerous interesting topics of inquiry, both in pure and mixed mathematics.

Though there are a few places in which this treatise is still susceptible of improvement, yet we regard it as every where indicating the powers of a master. Some chapters are extremely valuable, especially those on the motion of bodies actuated by centripetal forces, on motions in resisting media, and the com-

prehensive chapters on fluents and fluxional equations. We know of no work in which the useful method of finding fluxions by continuation is so fully and clearly developed as in this. Were we to yield to our inclinations we should enrich this article by several quotations, comprising elegant solutions of curious and difficult problems; but for these we must refer to the work itself. Our sole extract shall be made, for the sake of comparison with what we have already cited from the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, from the chapter on the method of drawing tangents. The diagrams may here again be readily supplied by the mathematical reader. After explaining under what circumstances a point moving along a line carried parallel to itself, will describe a curve presenting its concavity, and in what a curve presenting its convexity, to the axis; he proceeds:

"To draw a tangent to any algebraic curve.

"Let AM represent the abscissa, and MP the ordinate of an algebraic curve convex to the axis AF. Take M*c* and M*b* on each side of PM, and equal to each other; and draw *bt* and *cv* parallel to PM, meeting the curve in *x* and *v*, and a line *t*P*r* parallel to AF in *t* and *r*. Let M*b* and M*c*, or P*t* and P*r*, represent the uniform increase of the abscissa AM in a given time. Then since EPV is convex to the axis, MP increases with an accelerated velocity; ∴ the fluxion of AM : the fluxion of MP :: P*r* : a quantity less than *rv*. Take *rs* equal to this quantity; join P*s*, and produce it both ways; this line is a tangent, that is, every part of it falls below the curve. For since by equal triangles P*td*, P*rs*, $rs=td$; ∴ *td* is the fluxion of the ordinate at P. But the fluxion of AM : the fluxion of MP :: P*r* or P*t* : a quantity greater than the preceding increment *tx*; ∴ *td* is greater than *tx*, and *d* is below the curve.

"Next, suppose the curve to be concave to the axis AF. The same construction remaining, since the increase of MP is in this case retarded, the fluxion AM : the fluxion of MP :: P*r* : a quantity greater than *rv*; take *rs* equal to this quantity; join *s*P, and produce it; this line is a tangent at P, or falls wholly above the curve. For, by equal and similar triangles, P*rs*, P*td*, $td=rs$, or = the fluxion of the ordinate at P.

"But the fluxion of AM : the fluxion of MP :: P*t* or P*r* : a quantity less than *tx*; ∴ *td* is less than *tx*, or *d* is above the curve.

"In both these cases, if $AM=x$, $PM=y$; $Mc=\dot{x}$, $rs=\dot{y}$, we have *rs* : *r*P or M*c* :: PM : MT by similar triangles;

$$\text{or } \dot{y} : \dot{x} :: y : \text{the subtangent } MT=\frac{y\dot{x}}{\dot{y}}.$$

"Hence in any algebraic curve, to which it is required to draw a tangent at any point P, find from the equation to the curve the value of $\frac{y\dot{x}}{\dot{y}}$; take MT equal to this expression, join TP, and produce it. TP is the tangent required."

Here there is no attempt to accomplish a simple thing through the intervention of one that is difficult, as would be the case if the author had recourse to Taylor's theorem; nor is there any shifting of the hypothesis, as there would have been, if he had commenced the investigation with drawing a secant, and conceived it to pass into a tangent: all is obvious, natural, and satisfactory. In a subsequent chapter this author shows how the expression for the subtangent becomes modified in the case of *spirals*. But neither he nor the Edinburgh Encyclopœdist points out what is to be done, or what is to be inferred, in those curious instances in which the expression $\frac{y\dot{x}}{\dot{y}} = \frac{0}{0}$. This omission is the more remarkable in the Encyclopœdist, because he presents an ingenious disquisition on the subject of *vanishing fractions*, with which this peculiar case of tangents has an immediate connexion. The expression for the subtangent will always pass into this form when the curve has several branches which intersect one another, and it is proposed to draw a tangent at the point of concourse: in the analogous enquiry concerning the vanishing fraction, it may be imagined to express the ordinates of two curves which meet in some point of their common axis.

It will be seen from what we have already said, that we think very highly of Mr. Dealtry's work. It is, properly speaking, a treatise of *fluxions*, carefully separated as well from extraneous matter as from the distinct classes of analysis; and we do not hesitate to characterize it as the best performance on the subject which has appeared since the times of Maclaurin and Simpson. Among its other recommendations there is one which ought considerably to enhance its value to a *Cambridge* student, namely, that in many respects it serves as a commentary upon the *Principia* of Newton, to which there are frequent and specific references. We notice this peculiarity with the greater pleasure, because we have of late seen, or fancied we have seen, in some individuals who are actively engaged in promoting the mathematical sciences in that celebrated University, a strange and unnatural desire to make *every* thing that is Newtonian give place to *any* thing that is foreign. We are persuaded our present animadversions are not dictated by any unphilosophical prejudices. We have read and studied with delight the principal works of Euler, Dalembert, Lagrange, and Laplace: we regard them as monuments of the energy of human genius; and we think them so valuable to mathematicians and philosophers, that we would recommend them to the sedulous and reiterated perusal of all who are anxious to attain *eminence* in the abstruse sciences. Yet we do not consider them so well fitted for intellectual discipline as the works of Newton; much

less would we recommend so exclusive an attention to them as should issue in the absorption and oblivion of all previous mathematical performances. Torricelli and Galileo did not advise their disciples to disregard Archimedes and Euclid. Kepler did not undervalue the researches of Copernicus. Newton did not labour to conceal the productions and discoveries of Huygens and Kepler. Why then should the disciples and admirers of the great mathematicians of the last half century seem so anxious to *forget* how much they owe to Newton? Why should several of them transmute his noble discoveries in mathematics and philosophy into another shape, and yet carefully abstain from all acknowledgement of their obligations, from all mention even of his name; as if to owe any thing to him were discreditable? Why should *any* members of an university, which derives more of her scientific honour and celebrity from Newton's discoveries, and Newton's lectures in her schools, than from all her other mathematicians conjointly, lend their talents and their influence to perpetuate this injustice?* We most cordially rejoice that a man of Mr. Dealtry's high and deserved reputation has stepped forward to check this infatuation; and we can feel no doubt that the learned and judicious professors and tutors in the principal colleges will readily contribute their aid to the accomplishment of so desirable an object. Let the Newtonian analysis and the Newtonian philosophy be kept as distinct from other branches of analysis and philosophy as the lectures of the Jacksonian from those of the Plumian professor, or as both of them from the lectures on civil law. Thus will the ends of an ancient and learned university be most effectually attained; and the several departments of literary and scientific knowledge tend, each in its respective degree and manner, to the improvement of the intellectual and moral character of the student.

Long as this article has already become, we are unwill-

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* How much more laudably would some of these gentlemen be employed, if they would set to work in good earnest to prepare, or even to promote, a new edition of the *Principia*, with annotations suitable to the present state of "mathematical philosophy!" It was the opinion of *Lagrange*, that such a commentary on Newton's great work as it deserves to have would scarcely reflect less honour upon the age that should produce it than the original performance did upon the seventeenth century. Will the learned university that fostered the matchless genius from which that work emanated, suffer any man or men not reared within its precincts, to deprive it of this glory? The principal mathematicians in Europe have for the last thirty years been expecting such a publication to issue from the Cambridge press. Other attempts, as is well known, have altogether failed. Is there no breast in that nursery of science sufficiently ardent, no mind sufficiently illuminated, to undertake and accomplish the task? Let not the world be left to suspect this.

ing to conclude it without making one observation on Mr. Dealtry's performance, for which we trust we shall receive his pardon. It was not, we are aware, without much reflection that this "author has on most occasions *begun* with the simplest instance of the application of fluxional principles, and has then proceeded to the more general cases:" and we are ready to admit that, in an elementary work, this method (if either must be pursued universally) is preferable to that in which the applications to particular instances are made to flow from general expressions. Yet it is possible to generalize too little, as well as to generalize too soon and too constantly. To remedy this we would recommend Mr. Dealtry, in a subsequent edition of his excellent work, to exhibit, among the miscellaneous problems of the last chapter, a few more specimens of deducing particular formulæ of application from general investigation. Thus, for example, the oscillations of a liquid in a bent tube, which he analyzes in two problems, each restricted to a particular case, we should be glad to see investigated by *commencing* with general formulæ. The complete determination of this class of oscillations depends on the integration of three fluxional equations of the first order: these three equations may readily be reduced to a single equation comprehending second fluxions, because the quantity of liquid which oscillates in the tube is constant: this latter equation will become farther simplified when the sections of the tube are equal throughout; still farther when the opposite branches of the tube are symmetrically posited; and farther still when those branches are cylindrical and vertical. So again, with regard to the rotatory motions of bodies, Mr. Dealtry presents a few insulated problems; as at page 423, where he compares the momenta of a sphere and its circumscribed cylinder, whilst they revolve about a common axis. We shall be pleased to see this interesting topic of enquiry examined more fully, so as to develope the formulæ and principles of spontaneous rotation, the expressions which serve to separate and measure the motions of *translation* and *rotation* respectively, and to illustrate the application of these and dependent researches to the phenomena of the precession of the equinoxes and the nutation of the earth's axis. A chapter on these subjects would with great propriety follow that in which Mr. Dealtry has, with so much skill and success, treated of the motions of bodies solicited by centripetal forces.

Art. XVII.—*The Political Life of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington, compiled from original Papers by his Brother, Shute, Bishop of Durham.* 8vo. pp. 219. London, 1815. Payne and Foss, and Hatchard.

We have but just seen the account of the nobleman above mentioned, of whose memory we consider ourselves as speaking in most respectful terms, when we concede its title to be recorded by the present Bishop of Durham. It is but this moment also that some injurious strictures upon it have fallen into our hands. As we never enter into controversy with other critics, we shall content ourselves with doing simple justice by letting the work speak for itself. It will be found to contain the picture of a politician who was too honest to sacrifice any particular opinion to an administration of whose principles in general he approved; or to act with those whose opinions on some questions he embraced, while he rejected their principles in general.

Lord Barrington's political career commenced in 1740, at which time he joined with that party which in the course of the next year compelled Sir Robert Walpole to retire from administration. Upon the change of administration Lord Barrington took no official situation; but a few years afterwards he was made a Lord of the Admiralty, then Secretary at War, and became in March, 1761, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the cabinet. The situation, however, which was most his favourite, and most suited to his talents, was that of secretary at war; where his strict and regular attention to his official duties, his rules with respect to promotion, his impartial observance of them, and his kind and conciliating manners, may be referred to as examples for his successors in office. Those parts of his official correspondence which are brought to view by this publication, are of so pleasing a character, that we cannot help wishing for more of his letters respecting military arrangements and preferment. We shall lay before the reader only two specimens, referring him for the rest to the work itself. The first is of October 27th, 1759, and addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne on the subject of his demands respecting a regiment which the colonel was then raising.

"There is so little regard for the public to be found in mankind, that I must neither be surprised or offended that you do not give me the least credit for any thing of that sort in my transactions with you; and yet what other motive can influence me against the interests and inclinations of a gentleman with whom I have always lived on the best terms; who till he wrote his letter dated 25th October, never did a thing which could provoke or offend me; and who is allied to and protected by a noble person whose long friendship for me is one of the most valuable honours of my life?

"I will state the reasons which have obliged me to adhere to your own establishment, as given into the War Office by yourself in your hand-writing, and to reject your subsequent demands of a chaplain, hautboys, and additional levy money for each horse. I think these are the only articles in which we differ.

"As you claim a chaplain and hautboys because they are allowed in regiments of British cavalry, and particularly in Elliot's, I must state what you seem to have entirely forgotten; viz. the essential difference between a regiment of dragoons, raised by the public in the usual way, and one which you proposed to raise yourself, and for yourself, on certain conditions, every one of which I have made good.

"Major-General Elliot, an officer of long uninterrupted service, after commanding a corps of cavalry with great reputation for many years, (during two of which he served as colonel, being appointed aid-de-camp to the king in his turn,) obtained the command of a regiment of dragoons. He had good pretensions to an old one, as well as Major-General Douglass.

"Mr. Burgoyne, one of the youngest lieutenant-colonels in the service, after a series of favors of which the army does not furnish a precedent, and to which, with all his amiable and valuable qualities as a *man*, he had not the least claim as a *soldier*, obtains at his own solicitation and desire permission to raise a corps of dragoons on certain conditions. I am authorised to call those conditions disadvantageous to the public, because I can raise, nay, am actually raising men, and for your own regiment, on terms infinitely more advantageous.

"Has Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne a right to every douceur which General Elliot may expect? or can he demand more than his bargain? Is a chaplain more necessary to six troops than to four? Are hautboys more necessary to each troop when there are six than when there are four in a regiment? You know that a chaplain never attends in England, and that hautboys never exist in any corps of dragoons, but are considered as so much additional pay to the colonel. A regiment of dragoons, without the douceur, is a very great thing for any man who was a captain a year and a half ago. Whenever your regiment goes on foreign service it shall have a chaplain; and I will keep my promise of allowing you to sell that commission, though Lieutenant-Colonels Draper and Coote, who had at least as good pretensions, neither expected nor had the same indulgence. But what pretence has a commandant of a regiment of dragoons to sell a chaplainship at the useless expense to the public of whole pay at present, and half pay hereafter?

"You think it hard that any new public economy should begin where you are concerned; where can it begin so properly as in a regiment commanded by a man who was a captain a year and a half ago?

"I come next to your demand of £15 instead of £13 levy money for the horses; I say instead of £13, having consented to give you the additional twenty shillings, which I was the rather induced to do, because the public will never more this war have occasion to give any levy money for the horses of dragoons raised in this way.

"Your bargain was positive to undertake the business at £13 a horse.

If they have cost you more, must the public make it good? If they had cost you less, would you have accounted to the public for that saving?

"I believe you are £400 out of pocket by this article, because you tell me so. Let your officers make it good among them, Sir William Williams excepted, who gets nothing but reputation and trouble by the corps to which he is an honour. If you cannot prevail on them to pay this trifle divided among so many, would it be very unreasonable that a commandant of dragoons, who was a captain a year and a half ago, should pay that small fine for what brings him in from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds per annum? Of this I am sure, that the public should not pay any more than £13 per horse levy money for part of a regiment, when the rest will be raised for nothing by others.

"If an officer, by the length or merit of his services, has a claim to preferment, he should have it *gratis;* but when a *young gentleman*, who has no such pretension, is put over the head of older and better soldiers, he should buy it. In short, the public should be paid in services or in savings. Officers of standing will not complain of such a preference; they have a right to deem it injustice on any other footing.

"You urge the authority of Lord Ligonier, Mr. Pitt, and General Napier, as differing in opinion with me. As to the last, his ideas must be strangely altered from what they were when I talked with him on this subject, if he thinks with you. The two first, whom I honour as much as any man living, have heard only your side of the question; perhaps they might think differently if they heard the other side; be that as it may, I must do as I think right in a matter where nobody is responsible for what is done but myself.

"There is one part of your letter which renders it impossible for me to relax in these articles if I were ever so much inclined. You threaten me with the House of Commons in case I am what you call partial against you in respect to them. This is not the way to influence me; and I am ready to give an account of my conduct wherever any man has a right to question it.

"After saying so many truths which perhaps you dislike, I shall finish with some that will be more agreeable, though I might be excused from any thing of that kind, in reply to the least courtly letter that was ever written by an officer to a secretary at war.

"Your regiment has been raised with surprising expedition. I am told and believe it will be a good one. You are a man of sense, honour, and merit. I am persuaded you will deserve hereafter, in some other corps, emoluments which I cannot at present allow you in this. When that time comes you shall have my best assistance, however you may speak or write about me."

The other is of June 29, 1760, to the then Earl of Harcourt, to whom the king had *personally* granted a favour with respect to the promotion of his son, the present Earl of Harcourt, a favour not quite consistent with the regular routine of promotion in the army adopted by Lord Barrington.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that the king has

agreed that Mr. Harcourt shall succeed Major St. Leger in Lord Albemarle's regiment. His Majesty did it because he is your son; and did it graciously, but not without pity for the poor Captain-Lieutenant and concern on his account. I will own to your Lordship that my satisfaction in obeying your commands has its alloy from the same cause. Give me leave to send herewith his memorial, every word of which is strictly true; and I find on inquiry that he is a most worthy man and good officer. I never saw a more thoroughly modest behaviour. He feels this cruel stroke with a silent grief which I could see enough to have my heart pierced with it; but he does not murmur or complain. I have not troubled your Lordship with this to give you the same uneasiness which I have felt myself, but with intention to furnish a method of making both you and Mr. Irvine more easy under the military injustice and hardship which has been done to him. Five hundred pounds given to Irvine in the genteel manner which accompanies every thing you do, would, I am convinced, have that effect. Being done without previous conditions, and after Captain Harcourt's notification, your Lordship will have the honour of its being entirely your own act. I think you would with pleasure have given that sum to exchange into an old corps, and you would have preferred that method if an opportunity had offered.

"To another man I should think it necessary that excuses might be made for having thus attempted to pick your pocket a second time; to your Lordship I will make none. If the hint I have given be founded in reason you will thank me for it; if otherwise, you will impute it to a well-meant, though mistaken, regard for modest merit and long service in the army. It is scarce necessary for me to add that I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Irvine, and that nobody has spoken to me in his behalf."

The measures adopted by the King and his ministers, in 1775, placed Lord Barrington in a situation of difficulty and anxiety. He disapproved of the measures; and while they were as yet only in contemplation, though not a member of the cabinet, he submitted his objections very freely and fully both to his Majesty and his ministers, and upon their not being attended to, gave in his resignation. This, however, was done with so little publicity, that even his nearest relatives and friends did not know his opinion on the American war or the cause of his retirement, until they had the means of referring to his official papers after his death.

There are few persons whose course of life has been so monotonous as not to have been at some time or other thrown into a difficult dilemma of conflicting duties. In public situations it is hardly possible but that such cases should occur. After the repeal of the stamp act in 1766, American coercion and American hostilities seemed to have been put out of the question. But not long after the imposition of some trifling and unproductive taxes, resisted with great violence by the Americans, had produced feelings

of irritation on both sides of the Atlantic; and as in family quarrels, each party is disposed to think more of the kind feelings which affection or duty should produce on the other than of what is actually due on their own part; so while *we* were talking of the ingratitude of our *unnatural children* in America, *they* complained of the tyranny of a *cruel mother*, to whose prosperity they had so willingly and essentially contributed.

The King and his cabinet were induced to adopt the system of vigorous and coercive measures against the refractory colonists; and determined to subdue by force those whom they deemed it impossible to conciliate. Lord Barrington's opinion was not only against coercion itself, but he held that in any event it ought not to be attempted by the invasion of an army transported across the Atlantic with great loss, expense, and difficulty; but if we were justified in requiring submission, that it was most expedient to enforce it by the British navy, forming a blockade of their seaports, and imposing a restraint on their commerce and fisheries.

His situation at this time was peculiar. Though connected with ministers, whose general principles he approved, and whose friendship he valued, he had received his appointment immediately from the kindness and confidence of the King himself; and, not being of the cabinet, he had no *official* right to object to measures for which the existing members of the cabinet were exclusively responsible. When, therefore, the determination with regard to America was announced in 1775, there appeared to be three different lines of conduct which might naturally have been under his consideration:—1st, To yield to the general, if not the unanimous, opinion of his colleagues in office; and, as the sword was drawn and the war appeared inevitable, and his own opposition at most could only contribute to embarrass the contest, to abstain from injuring his country's cause by any countenance or assistance, however trivial, to the objects or force of the enemy. Co-operation to any great or useful purpose, as experience has long proved, cannot be effectually and permanently obtained without mutual concessions. His Majesty, his ministers, the two houses of parliament, and (we may add) the feelings of the people *then very fond of talking of their American subjects*, appeared to be in favour of coercive measures. Their united opinion might be right, and his own individual opinion wrong; at least it might be so far doubtful as to make it presumptuous in a single person, not the leader of a party nor a member of the cabinet, publicly to oppose the concurring opinions of men whose talents and intentions he valued, and of a sovereign whose virtues he loved and respected; while it was probable that the greater quantity of actual good was to be obtained, and the national glory and interest most promoted by the union of hearts and heads in the common cause. It is also to

be considered that the opposition to measures of coercion then proceeded, almost wholly, from the republican and democratic party in this country; a circumstance sufficient to deter a man of his habits of thinking from lending himself to an opposition in whose views and intentions he could place no confidence. 2dly, Another mode of acting would have been that of abruptly throwing up his appointment, joining the opposition, and appealing to the feelings of the house and of the people at large. A more favourable opportunity could scarcely have occurred of erecting the structure of ambitious greatness upon a new and popular basis; and of contriving the means of return to office with increased power and reputation. The sound of an action, *apparently* so disinterested, the rank which the leaders of opposition would be disposed to concede to *so meritorious a convert*, and the probable effects of a change of administration, would all have been considerations of weight to induce and justify (politically speaking) an attempt to unite *the superior wisdom of the children of this world* (always prepared for the mutable chapter of accidents) with the visions of modern patriotism and the acclamations of the silly multitude. 3dly, The resolution which Lord Barrington actually adopted under the difficulties in which he found himself involved, and which proceeded in a middle line between the two we have mentioned. It was to submit freely and fully, first to the ministry and then to the king, his objections to the proposed measures; and, if his remonstrances were not attended to, then to retire *quietly and silently*, not sullenly or resentfully, from office, "as soon as the vacancy occasioned by his resignation could be filled without prejudice to the public service;—not explaining his motive to any one but to the King and the Minister; not implicating himself in the support of their measures, nor yet making use of his *public* situation or character to embarrass those measures, whatever might be his private opinion of them." All this appeared to be compatible with his duty to the public, his obligations to his sovereign, and his connexions with the ministers; and it may be added (what he appears to have had in view, and which in the events that followed was not an object of minor consideration) that by avoiding a rupture with ministers he retained the power of suggesting milder counsels,—a power afterwards exerted with good effect.

Having formed his resolution he lost no time in soliciting his dismission, and he pressed it not only earnestly but importunately. To have refused waiting till his successor could be appointed, would have appeared harsh and ungrateful to a sovereign who had ever been to him a kind and considerate friend; and at the same time that it would have given publicity to the transaction, and possibly might render the progress of the war more unfavourable, and peace upon proper terms less easy of attainment,

it could not have been expected to have the effect of inducing the King and his ministers to abandon measures then approved by the great body of the nation, and supported by triumphant majorities in both houses of parliament. In fact, the terms of amity on which he continued with the ministers, enabled him from time to time to press upon them his opinion against the war; and particularly, in December, 1781, to submit to Lord Dartmouth, the American secretary, observations on peace, that may possibly have suggested the terms which in the course of a few months were agreed on in 1782.

Upon the rumour of the intended measures, Lord Barrington had written (November 12, 1774) to Lord Dartmouth, the American Secretary, to express his opinion against them. In the next month he followed this by the following:

"TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

"*Dec.* 24, 1774.

"Our disputes with North America have not at present the foundation of interest; for the contest will cost us more, than we can ever gain by the success.

"I do not believe any ministry will ever attempt another internal tax on the Americans, by Act of Parliament; and experience has shewn that we have not strength in that part of our dominions to levy such taxes, against an universal opinion prevailing there that we have no right to lay them. Besides, many among ourselves, though persuaded of the right, doubt at least the equity of such taxations, as Parliament is less acquainted with the state of the colonies than of Great Britain, and as members of neither house are to bear any part of the burden they impose.

"The fair deduction from these premises is, that, whatever might be the case when the stamp duty was first imposed, our present contest is about the point of honour only; which point, however, can in certain situations be as little yielded to our colonies, as to our neighbours.

"It is greatly to be lamented that the North Americans have not enabled us to make concessions to them; much might have been ceded to their duty and obedience, which must be refused to their insolence and resistance. The point under consideration at present is, how the mother country should act towards colonies, one of which seems to be in active rebellion, and many more on the verge of it.

"I will begin with the Massachussetts, whose conduct has merited the most severe chastisement, and is such as would justify conquest; but I am against employing troops to conquer that country, for the following reasons.

"First, I doubt whether all the troops in North America, though probably enow for a pitched battle with the strength of the province, are enow to subdue it, being of great extent, and full of men accustomed to fire arms. It is true, they have not hitherto been thought brave; but enthusiasm gives vigour of mind and body unknown before. If the Massachussetts (with whom the inhabitants of Con-

necticut and Rhode Island are said to have made common cause) were conquered, they must be kept under by large armies and fortresses, the expense of which would be ruinous and endless.

"Second, Because the most successful conquest that can be imagined must produce the horrors and bloodshed of civil war.

"Third, Because a conquest by land is unnecessary, when the country can be reduced, first to distress, and then to obedience, by our marine totally interrupting all commerce and fishery, and even seizing all the ships in the ports, with very little expense and less bloodshed.

"To this might be added, the punishment of the factious chiefs, by impeachment or bill, if their persons can be secured; but till then, any judicial proceedings would provoke, but not hurt, and confer the palm of martyrdom without the pain of it, which is the perfection of fanatical beatitude.

"In respect of the other colonies, south of New England, a strict execution of the act of navigation, and other restrictive laws, would probably be sufficient at present; and a small addition of frigates and sloops would so execute those laws, as to prevent almost all commerce with foreign states. Those colonies should also be left to deal with the Indians; the mother country withdrawing the establishments made since the beginning of the late war for the management of Indian affairs, and kept up till this day at a great expense.

"Though we must depend on our smaller ships for the active part of this plan, I think a squadron of ships of the line should be stationed in North America, both to prevent the intervention of foreign powers, and any attempt of the colonies to attack our smaller vessels by sea.

"It remains to be considered, what should be done with our troops. I think they should by no means remain inactive at Boston, where their spirits will be cowed, while the colony will be amazingly enriched. They should not be quartered in any of the provinces, which have sent deputies to the Congress; for if in a large body, they will enrich those colonies, as they now do New England; and if separated into small ones, they will certainly be useless, and probably insulted. Very good quarters may be provided for them in Canada, Nova Scotia, and East Florida, till they can be employed with good effect elsewhere. There is still a small detachment in the Illinois, which can no longer be supplied by the Ohio, is useless on the Mississippi, and should be withdrawn.

"If these ideas are well-founded, the colonies will in a few months feel their distress; their spirits, not animated by any little successes on their part, or violence of persecution on our's, will sink; they will be consequently inclined to treat, probably to submit to a certain degree; and in my humble opinion, the whole is then over, for with dignity we may make them concessions. I repeat, our contest is merely a point of honour; and Cardinal de Retz wisely observes, *qu'il n'y a rien, qui doit moins s'outrer que l'honneur.* The colonies will feel we are their masters, and will be less provoking for the future; and if we are wise, we shall for the future abstain from all ideas of internal taxation.

"I beg leave to add a word more on this subject. When three out of four taxes were repealed in the Duke of Grafton's ministry, I proposed to the House of Commons to repeal them *all*, where they had not been resisted, and to repeal *none* of them where they had been. I mentioned something similar last year to a meeting at Lord North's. If the tea duty were this season repealed in Canada, Nova Scotia, Georgia, East and West Florida, I cannot help thinking it would produce very good consequences, and would shew the refractory colonies, that obedience is a sure way to be relieved.

"Pardon, my dear Lord, this liberty: I have accustomed myself for near thirty years to lay my opinions before ministers; and as this was the only trouble I gave them, they took it in good part. Possibly all my ideas, and many others, may have been suggested to your own mind by the subject: God grant that you and the other ministers may adopt those measures, that may give us peace and prosperity."

Upon the sanguine expectation of the force which it might be practicable to send out to America, Lord Barrington thought it his duty to attempt to undeceive the Minister as soon as possible; and in July, 1775, addressed the following letter to the American Secretary.

"TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

"*July* 31, 1775.

"Mr. Pownall having mentioned to me this day, that it was intended the force in North America should by next spring be raised to twenty thousand regulars, I told him it was clearly my opinion, that no such number could be raised or procured for this purpose; and therefore ventured to recommend strongly, that no expectation of the kind should be given in the dispatches going out to the colonies. General Harvey was present, and joined in this opinion, which I dare say Mr. Pownall intends to mention to your Lordship: but as the vast multiplicity of affairs now going through his hands may prevent his remembering it, I think it safest in this manner to state it to your Lordship, with all due deference to better opinions."

To this he added, on the same day, the following letter to his Majesty.

"TO THE KING.

"*July* 31, 1775.

"I have just finished a long conference with Sir John Blaquiere, General Harvey, and Mr. Pownall. I think I may venture to say, that every thing ordered by your Majesty, in the two letters dated 29th, and one dated the 30th of this month, has been clearly communicated to the several persons concerned in the execution; and I trust there will be no mistake made by any of them. I have seen the commissions framed for Major-Generals Howe and Carleton, which I conceive to be clear, and sufficient to answer your Majesty's purpose in granting them.

"I wish, sir, most cordially, that the force intended for North America may be raised in time, to be sent thither next spring; but I not only fear, but am confident, the proposed augmentation cannot possibly be raised, and ought not to be depended on."

A few days after he sent the following on the same subject to the Minister.

"TO LORD NORTH.

"*August* 8, 1775.

"I have several plans under consideration, for raising foreigners and Irishmen to serve in our regiments. Those of them which seem practical and proper I will report to your Lordship; for as it is the measure of government to have a large army in North America, it is my duty and inclination to make that measure succeed to the utmost; though my own opinion always has been and still is, that the Americans may be reduced by the fleet, but never can be by the army. I wish I could flatter myself that the utmost exertion of our endeavours would produce the recruits we shall want before next spring."

Two months after he addressed a fifth letter, as follows, to the American Secretary.

"TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

"*October* 26, 1775.

"On my arrival at the War-office last Monday, I found that five regiments were to be sent from Ireland, in the beginning of December: I am not apprized where they are going; but I conclude from universal report, that they are intended to act as a separate corps in North America, to the southward. If there should be an idea of such a force marching up the country, I hope it will not be entertained; for there must be great danger of its wanting many essential necessaries, where there is so little to be had, so much desire to prevent the having that little, so much difficulty in conveying artillery, stores, provisions, &c. and so much hazard of losing communication with the ships. As to other dangers I am no judge.

"Allow me once more, my dear Lord, to remind you of the necessity there is, in all military matters, not to stir a step without full consultation of able military men, after giving them the most perfect knowledge of the whole matter under consideration, with all its circumstances.

"I am sensible nothing can excuse the frequent liberties of this kind which I take, but an honest disinterested anxiety for the public, and desire to serve the King and his administration."

In January, 1776, he submitted the following observations to the King.

"The troops in South Britain, after the 29th regiment of foot, and the 16th of dragoons are embarked, will be according to the establishment 13,632 men, officers included; but deducting from that number 1,322, wanting to complete, the real force will be only 12,310.

"To this may be added, two regiments daily expected from Minorca, establishment 1354, but wanting 626 to complete.

"The two battalions from North America, and the two from the West Indies ordered home, must not at present be considered as strength; because they will arrive without men.

"North Britain never was so bare of troops; having only one battalion of foot, and one regiment of dragoons, besides invalids.

"I humbly conceive this force too small for Great Britain, particularly for the southern part of it; and that it should not, on any account, be diminished.

"In the years 1757 and 1758, when there was not the least difference of opinion in politics, within doors or without, a very numerous army was scarce sufficient to suppress insurrections in many places, on account of the militia, and a scarcity of corn; yet at that time every thing was quiet in and about the capital.

"On the contrary, at present, London is of all places in the island the most attentively to be watched, on account of the many actively desperate and ill-affected people who are in it. I need not say how little the magistracy of the city is to be trusted, or how much to be feared.

"The conclusion to be drawn from hence is, that no detachment should be made from the Guards, till an augmentation equal to that detachment has been actually completed. The Foot Guards never were so low in their establishment as since the last peace; and now amount to no more, when complete, than 3,765, officers included. When the weavers attacked Bedford-house, the Guards were not deemed a sufficient force; and many regiments were assembled in the neighbourhood as a reinforcement.

"It is not many years since a mob at Madrid forced the King of Spain to fly from his capital, or many months since another alarmed the King of France at Versailles; at the same time it was necessary that every baker's shop at Paris should be protected by soldiers. The governments in almost all the provinces of North America were overturned by insurrections last summer, because there was not a sufficient force to defend them.

"If an insurrection in London should be attended with the least success, or even to continue unquelled for any time (a circumstance much to be apprehended, as the city magistrates will not call for the assistance of troops), it is highly probable, there would also be risings in many parts of the kingdom. The present apparent quiet should not make it forgotten, that there is a very levelling spirit among the people.

"Repeated experience shows that no stops can be put any where to these risings without the intervention of troops; and if there are not within reasonable distance sufficient troops to check them at the beginning, a large force becomes necessary for the purpose.

"The only assistance which can be afforded to the civil magistrate, in addition to the regulars, arises from the militia. I wish some of those corps were called out, and soon; but this, if not done with great care and judgment, may create danger, instead of securing us against it.

"The militia, when embodied during the last war, was officered by the first nobility and gentry, full of spirit, and fond of the thing; their rank and authority had great weight with the common men, who had no idea of a better condition of military service, than what was allotted to them, in common with the soldiers of the marching regiments. But during the last peace began the custom of being exercised for twenty-eight days, and receiving, during that time, one shilling per day each man; at present the private men (almost all substitutes) conceive they were engaged to serve on this footing; how they will bear the being taken for the whole year from their families, and put under the severity of the martial law, receiving only soldier's pay, is at best very problematical. I therefore think they should be brought out one or two at a time, and immediately encamped or quartered, with a sufficient number of regulars to keep them in order, if they should attempt to mutiny. After they are once settled, they may be trusted by themselves, especially if properly stationed."

The session of parliament prevented any thing more passing till the seventh of June, when Lord Barrington waited on the King to give in his resignation. His Majesty expressed his opinion, that he should not then be able to replace him with satisfaction; but added, that he would not press on him any thing which might affect his health or comfort. In September he renewed his application, when the King proposed his quitting parliament, and retaining for the present his appointment. Delays and difficulties, and the untoward events of the war, occurred to delay the compliance with his request until May, 1778, when he retired from parliament, and soon after quitted his office, to make room for his successor Mr. Jenkinson.

It may lead to a favourable construction of Lord Barrington's conduct, that, after having passed thirty-eight years in parliament, and the greater part of them in considerable official situations, when he voluntarily retired from public life, he had not augmented his property, nor taken any life grant, sinecure, or reversion for himself, or any of his family or connexions. And in truth looking only to his official conduct, we may agree with a highly respected political character, "That a man who could act with so much sturdy uprightness in opposing the wishes and claims of the great and the powerful, has justly intitled himself to be believed, in a dubious case, to act from independent motives, and with a view to the real interests of this country."

As a specimen of the style of the work, we shall give our readers an extract from the concluding pages.

"On the conduct of the American war in 1775, he had the misfortune to differ from his colleagues in office; and as soon as he found that difference irreconcileable, he applied to his Majesty for leave to resign. Whatever might have been the original discussion of right,

it was now merged in the question of expediency. The point for consideration then was, whether it were expedient, or even practicable, to carry the British arms through the wastes and wilds of America. Lord Barrington thought it was not practicable, and that even if it were, it would by no means be expedient to attempt it, with a sanguinary and ruinous waste of men and money: that in its consequences, we had not merely to apprehend a temporary check to national prosperity, but that the very existence of Great Britain might eventually be endangered, by the faithless and hostile attempts of France, on a country improvidently drained and left destitute of troops and the means of defence. At the same time, Lord Barrington bore, with stoical calmness, more than his own official share of the public odium of measures of which he disapproved; measures, the perseverance in which was the cause of his quitting administration.

"His manner of resigning his appointment as secretary at war was exemplary and perhaps unprecedented. When he perceived that his remonstrances were ineffectual against the measures adopted for the coercion of America, he applied personally to the King, for his Majesty's permission to resign. He sought no merit with the public; he made no attempt at popularity. This circumstance, so honourable to him, was generally unknown even to his nearest relations and dearest friends until after his death. His request was renewed, and afterwards pressed also on the minister, as earnestly and importunately as could be done, without injury to the public service, or embarrassment to his Majesty and the administration; and, as soon as a successor could be appointed, he retired with gratitude and satisfaction to private life.

"Lord Barrington's official conduct is above all praise. Kind and considerate, firm and consistent, and equally just to the public and to the individual; an economist of the public treasure, and at the same time, an impartial and judicious distributor of that rank and recompense, which are the merited returns of service. If we refer to his official correspondence, we shall find that, whether he had to reply to the powerful claims of patrician rank and parliamentary interest, or to the solitary suit of the friendless veteran; whether to the commander in chief, to his colleagues in office, or to the minister himself; his answer was always the same, firm and consistent, yet expressed with a conciliatory urbanity of manner calculated to reconcile the most adverse and unreasonable. His letters to Lord Granby, Lord Camden, Lord North, and others, shewed his steadiness, however pressed, in adhering to his official regulations; those to General Elliott evinced the manly manner in which he could refuse a request, and the dignity with which he could afterwards decline taking any merit in a favour which did not come personally from himself. His letter about his brother, Major-General Barrington, displayed a mind not to be diverted by personal and family considerations from its strict line of official duty: that to Lord Harcourt, the delicacy and attention with which (while claims of rank were preferred by royal interference) he watched over the interests, and soothed the wounded

feelings, of the friendless and disappointed subaltern. His scrupulous conduct as to presents, and the kind and considerate manner in which he could decline them, are exemplified in his transaction with Major, afterwards Sir Hector, Monro, in the same unequivocal manner as his indignation, towards the jobs and frauds of contractors and military underlings, is marked in his letters to the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough, and to the Bishop of Meath; and, not to multiply examples where every letter might be severally referred to, his answer to General Burgoyne may serve as a precedent for official replies to demands, supported by interest, and dictated by presumption. The whole indeed of his correspondence supplies a practical comment on the following words in his circular letter of February 8, 1766. 'It frequently happens in the army, as elsewhere, that want of money is accompanied by want of assisting friends; but the poor, though deserving officer, should always find at the War-office a constant assertor of his rights, and a faithful guardian of his interests.'

"As a specimen of his pleasantry and presence of mind, on an occasion which might embarrass many men in office, I add the following anecdote. A young officer, who had not been included in a recent promotion, waited on Lord Barrington, and in a very decided and unequivocal manner demanded satisfaction for the affront. His Lordship replied, 'Young gentleman, if I had made it a rule to fight every officer, who was disappointed on every general promotion which took place, I should not have been now able to wish you a very good morning:' and beckoning to his attendant to open the door, parted with his doughty and offended visitor.

"Lord Barrington's suavity of manner was strikingly amiable. To those who affect a roughness of exterior, as the presumed index of internal firmness of mind, it might appear to have been carried too far. A spirit naturally kind and conciliatory, with an early and constant habit of living in elevated society, had given a degree of refined polish to his manners, which it would have been affectation in him to have attempted to throw off. That man, indeed, must have been of a churlish and uncultivated disposition, who could have wished those manners less polished and refined, which covered so firm and feeling a heart. Friendly and affectionate in all the relations of life, strictly honest and honourable in his private concerns, and scrupulously just and consistent in his public conduct, he added one to many examples in his native country of gentleness of manner being compatible with firmness of mind, and the highest polish of refinement being consistent with the severer virtues, and with strict integrity of life."

We trust that what we have produced will be considered as confirmatory of the statement with which we set out—that the testimony which the Bishop of Durham has thus borne to his brother is honourable to both; honourable to the character of the one, and to the feelings of the other.

Art. XVIII. *The Siege of Corinth. A Poem. Parisina. A Poem.* 8vo. London, 1816. Murray.

The Story of Rimini. A Poem. By Leigh Hunt. London, 1816. Murray.

We are not so little conversant with the human character, and especially with the habits of authors, as to trust to their promises of silence. We know that in general when a disputant says he will not say one word more, he means that he is fully determined to have the last word, and we do not give a poet credit for greater moderation. In our criticism, therefore, on Lord Byron's Corsair, in the dedication of which he announced his intention to forbear trespassing, as he modestly expresses himself, upon the public patience for some time, though we thanked him in the name of common sense, good poetry, and sound morality for the promised forbearance, we were not such simpletons as to expect that, as long as there was left remaining in story a vagabond ruffian, and a black-eyed maid to be celebrated; as long as any men, women, or children, could be found to endure the repetition of the same gaudy confusion, and distorted sentiment in broken verse, the same combinations of blood and debauchery, the poet would cease to take advantage of the infatuation. We did hope, however, that Lord Byron had determined to lay *down* his pen for a season, in order to lay *up* a little more of that abundance which great nature, and the greater scene of moral existence, are always spreading before the contemplative mind; and to learn, by a better acquaintance with the higher forms of poetry, what are its noblest ends, and what is the authentic stamp of its value. When the little poem that succeeded to the Corsair made its appearance with all the old characteristics about it, as like to the former productions as a one pound bank-note is to another one pound bank-note, and with as little difference in value, we were still not in despair; because we considered that his Lordship's muse had been too long under the influence of her Turkish habits, at once to renounce the Harem, and that some fruit of her former connexions was yet to be got rid of before the ancient ties could be completely dissolved. But alas! after allowing the full time for the consequences of former bad habits to pass away, we are mortified to find this self-same muse of Lord Byron again a delinquent, and performing her vows of chastity and seclusion by bringing twins into the world; the siege of Corinth, and Parisina! hopeful pair! happy mixture of Turkish and Italian breed! possessing that genuine cast of physiognomy which in one expression combines valour and apostacy, slaughter and sentiment, felony and feeling, profaneness and tenderness, incestuous love and melting sorrow.

The two poems which are now presented to the public under the sanction of Lord Byron's reputation exhibit all the faults which have characterised his Lordship's preceding effusions, without the slightest admixture of any of their merits, for merits undoubtedly some of them have displayed, especially that poem which appears to have been sacrificed to new friendships with some of those who were the objects of its spirited and just satire; we mean the address to the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." To the "Childe Harold"* we have also tendered our humble tribute of applause: but from that poem (in which though there was little to elevate there was much to delight) the poet has tumbled down through several successive stages of deteriority, with an incredible "vivacité de pesanteur," to the lowest profundity of the bathos; at the very bottom of which he now lies together with his wretched Parisina. To the same limbo of inanity we would gladly consign all those unholy images of slaughter, sensuality, incest, and infidelity, which have taken such poetical possession of Lord Byron's brain.

The hero of Lord Byron's poems, who is always a man that has defrauded the gallows, whether he be a Giaour, a Corsair, or a Renegado, is scarcely diversified by the different degrees of iniquity by which he is characterised. What was said by Martin Clifford ill-naturedly enough to Dryden, might, with a change of the names, be properly addressed to Lord Byron. "I am strangely mistaken, if I have not seen this very Almansor of yours in some disguise about this town, and passing under another name. Pr'ythee, tell me true, was not this Huffcap once the Indian Emperor, and at another time did he not call himself Maximin," &c. It might with greater propriety be inquired of Lord Byron, whether all his heroes were not one and the same rogue with an *alias* only to distinguish him, and whether the Venetian renegado at the siege of Corinth has any thing to give him a distinct personality, unless it be his bare arm in battle, and his spinning, quivering, shivering, departure out of life: for the poet has represented him as making his exit in a sort of pirouette. Sallies of frantic depravity; combinations of confused magnificence; half told and half smothered motives to revenge; half sensual and half sentimental passion; dark or dark blue scenery; an horrific group of dogs, and carrion, and jackalls, and wolves, and Tartars' and Turcomans' heads and bones; to which may be added all that the very significant line prefixed to the work by way of motto announces,

"Guns, trumpets, blunderbusses, drums, and thunder;"—

these, and more of a similar kind, are mingled in the first of

* Vol. III. No. VII. Art. XVI.

the poems, now before us, in so ludicrous an assemblage, as to make us doubt whether it was not the design of this young nobleman to laugh at the simplicity of his admirers, and to try how much of this stuff the stupid infatuation of the public would endure. The vehicle of this tasteless accumulation is a lax and lawless versification, which seems to propose to itself something of lyric irregularity, in the simple neglect of metrical consonance and methodical structure.

To enter into a detailed criticism upon such a work would, we feel, be mightily ridiculous; especially as we are by no means sure that the poet is not trying a ludicrous experiment upon the tolerance of fashionable favouritism: for after all we cannot without a struggle surrender that impression in favour of the author's genius, which, with some intermixture of disgust, the Childe Harold created in our minds. We must own that while we dwelt with great and glowing satisfaction on the many passages of poetical sentiment and imagery with which the poem last alluded to abounds, we regarded the character of the Childe himself with great suspicion; but we certainly did not see in it the embryo of that delusive compound of a man, who by an unnatural mixture of heroism and crime, brutality and sentiment, was afterwards to warp the principles of the young into an admiration, and perhaps imitation, of a very pernicious model.

What increased our suspicion that there was some danger to public sentiment lurking in this new poetical character, which would in some other forms further develope its malignity, was the very obtrusive manner in which it was brought forward in a picturesque poem, whose object was to describe in rich and vivid colours the interesting scenes of Turkish Greece, with those mixed sentiments of admiration and regret, which the awful traces of pristine splendor in the bosom of that fair region were calculated to produce. Through these magnificent scenes the poem has dragged along a refining, repining, blasphemous sensualist, sulky at any turn that brought new beauties to his eye, and in the midst of external glory and grandeur, fretting about himself and his disappointments, and haunted by the ghosts of his departed pleasures.

But although we were sorry that Lord Byron had picked up this fellow, to set him in the heart of ancient Greece, instead of leaving him to do his duty on the Thames; yet, as he bore so unmeaning a part in the scene, we cannot say that he prevented us from enjoying the brilliant stanzas with which the poem of Childe Harold is interspersed; but when we find him, strutting in his cap and feather, the hero of every subsequent poem from the same hand, we must confess that we totally lose our temper, and feel the most pleasing part of the performance to be that in which

the grim-featured sentimentalist surrenders his existence to one of those guns or blunderbusses which Lord Byron enumerates in the very well-chosen motto of his present poem, as the instruments which he has always at hand to bring about his bloody catastrophes.

As the Childe possessed nothing of the poet's melancholy, nothing of that musing sadness which sometimes belongs to a rich imagination combined with a soft and tender disposition, so neither has the Giaour, or the Corsair, or Selim, or Alp, any of those properties which entitle them to the true and natural sympathies of the reader; none of those delights which, "dolphin-like, shewed their backs above the element they lived in." They are a very narrow-minded gentry, without any sentiments that carry them out of the selfish circle of animal pleasure, but covering all their brutal habits with the expiatory quality of desperate devotion to some pretty woman. We cannot, however, say so much for Alp, the hero of the poem now in our hands, who having suffered some outrageous indignity or some state-persecution at Venice his native city, enters a renegado into the service of the Moslems, and undertakes the siege of Corinth, of which he anticipates the total destruction, and where he knows the object of his love together with her aged father must necessarily be liable to perish in the general carnage, in order to be revenged upon his own country. And even when, on the night before the siege, the ghost of the gentle lady visited her lover in his sad vigil under the walls of the city, and threatened him with the loss of heaven and herself, he remained true to his turban and his Turkish creed, thus giving an oblique preference to the paradise of Mahomet and the celestial houris.

It must be owned, however, in behalf of this poem that it is meritoriously short, and that the story does not require that painful investigation, and, oh terrible thought! a second perusal, to understand its plot and catastrophe. And as we have formerly, in our review of the Corsair,* observed upon the uncertain and mysterious end of that hero's existence, his Lordship has amply provided against the recurrence of such doubts in his reader's mind by shooting his renegado dead, and then blowing him up with gun-powder. We have here therefore a complete certificate of his hero's death; and one might have hoped that after such a doubly sure disposition of our old enemy, we should never have had to encounter him again: but alas! he does appear again, and is beheaded in another poem in the same volume. After the discipline which he had undergone in the Siege of Corinth,

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* See Vol. v. p. 508.

however, he certainly does not appear in the same blustering and outrageous character in which he had before presented himself,

> "His face
> Deep scars of thunder had entrench'd, and care
> Sat on his faded cheek."

In a word, he is more moderate and decent; he contents himself with simply defiling his father's bed, for which he peaceably submits to a public execution. And thus the Childe, whom we have identified through all his felonious disguises, is brought to his appropriate end, and poetical justice is satisfied.

But *we* are not so well satisfied. And we will tell our readers why:—because we have sons and daughters: but this is but a partial reason; let us add—because Britannia has sons and daughters, and in the duration of their characteristic virtue and modesty we behold the best pledge of our superiority over faithless France and prostrate Italy, and of the continuance of our happiness and greatness. We do not say that Lord Byron *means* to interrupt this happiness or greatness, but we think that the false associations, the loose morality, and the atheistical character of his productions, dressed up in poetry not generally good, but often fascinating to female and youthful fancies, is doing a species of mischief which, if he could once be brought to view it in its real extent, he would probably regret and be anxious to remedy. We love the public mind, and feel tremblingly alive to its best interests. We love our country's freedom, and feel satisfied that purity of morals, and the sacred influence of our blessed religion, constitute its only true basis. We wish ardently, therefore, that we could prevail upon the noble poet whose works we are now considering to put in execution the promised retirement of his muse, and do justice to those powers which nature has bestowed upon him, by giving them their ample range over the wide circuit of contemplation that lies before him, selecting those objects which are worthy of his intellect, and connected with his own and his country's glory,—which may lead him through nature to nature's God, and qualify him to open what in the language of the Author of the Night Thoughts is called "the volume of the skies."

> "Open thy bosom, set thy wishes wide,
> And let in manhood; let in happiness;
> Admit the boundless theatre of thought
> From nothing up to God."

If Lord Byron could be persuaded to expand his capabilities, and raise his poetical thoughts to their proper standard, he might soon perhaps be able to afford to abandon to their due condemnation all those miserable compositions which have flowed

from his pen since the appearance of the Childe Harold, and give us a hero instead of a malefactor. He might possibly agree with us, and admit that, amidst so much ill-executed poetry, it is hard to say by which that "bad eminence" has been attained which seems to have been the object of his inverted ambition; though certainly the struggle for deteriority has been sharpest and severest between the two poems which now lie before us, "the Siege of Corinth," and "Parisina."

As far as our critical authority goes, we assign the palm to Parisina. It is transcendently bad throughout; whereas in the Seige of Corinth a ray or two of genuine poetry now and then darts a faint gleam through the dreary space, and sparkles for an instant on the turrets of the devoted city.

The Reviewers who were once the objects of Lord Byron's satire,—who have since found out his merit, and whom his Lordship seems now to treat with so much complaisance, will probably think it most for their interest to let these two poems pass in reverent silence, or they will find themselves in the pitiable dilemma of giving up their claims to criticism, or the friendship of the poet. Other Reviewers may not be quite unembarrassed in this respect. We have no impediments to the fair exercise of our humble judgment on their merits; and we feel it our duty as critics to say that, we think that if the style and character of these compositions, and others written in the same spirit of affectation, shall succeed in bringing the public taste under subjection to their usurped authority, it may be very long before we shall live again under those laws which have their foundation in nature, truth, and just sentiment, and which breathe in the fairest productions of the British Muse.

An Advertisement to the Siege of Corinth, gives us the passage in history on which the poem is founded, in the following words.

"The grand army of the Turks (in 1715), under the Prime Vizier, to open to themselves a way into the heart of the Morea, and to form the siege of Napoli di Romania, the most considerable place in all that country, thought it best in the first place to attack Corinth, upon which they made several storms. The garrison being weakened, and the governor seeing it was impossible to hold out against so mighty a force, thought fit to beat a parley: but while they were treating about the articles, one of the magazines in the Turkish camp, wherein they had six hundred barrels of powder, blew up by accident, whereby six or seven hundred men were killed: which so enraged the infidels, that they would not grant any capitulation, but stormed the place with so much fury, that they took it, and put most of the garrison, with Signior Minotti, the governor, to the sword. The rest, with Antonio Bembo, proveditor extraordinary, were made prisoners of war." (*History of the Turks*, vol. iii. p. 151.)

The description of the Isthmian scenery, and of the Turkish host before the besieged city, is picturesque and pleasing; though the metrical structure of four feet, refuses to these subjects that luxuriant expansion, that fulness of tone, and that grandeur of expression, which their nature demands. Why Lord Byron and Mr. W. Scott should have pitched upon so impoverishing and scanty a measure, fitter for Hudibrastic composition than the dignity of an heroic subject, it is difficult to explain; especially as Dryden seems to have been so great a favourite with them, the elastic bound of whose genius could never submit to this narrow inclosure.

Though Lord Byron has, we must own, made us rather sick of Turks and Tartars, and the monotonous scenes of slaughter and sensuality in which his genius seems so much to delight, yet really we were not sorry to be a little while detained by the opening description from what awaited us in the third page. We too well anticipated what too surely arrived, one of that ruthless tribe by which Lord Byron's imagination seems to be peopled. He is a Venetian Gentleman, who, we confess, seems to have had something to complain of in respect to the treatment he had received at home, having nearly forfeited his life for some imputed crime, of which he might have been innocent for any thing we are told to the contrary. His revenge, however, seems to have been of a very sweeping description. He at once assumes the costume and religion of a Turk, in order to share with them in the massacre of his own countrymen wherever they might be found. With this view he enters into the service of the Vizier Coumourgi, and obtains a command in the expedition against the Morea, then under the Venetian dominion. He is described as having so well succeeded as to satiate the Ottoman fury with the blood of his own countrymen. Corinth, the siege of which is the subject of the poem, was the sojourn of a lovely maid, the daughter of Signior Minotti, the Venetian Governor of the place; and to this fair person the Renegado was tenderly attached. In the night preceding the general storming of the city, Alp, being unable to sleep, takes the air in a walk along the beach, within hearing of the watch upon the ramparts, and the range of the enemy's carbines. A very horrid scene here presents itself of dogs mumbling the bones of the dead, and peeling the flesh from off the skulls of the slain. And the poet thinks he cannot be too circumstantial in detailing the humours of this dainty supper.

> " He wandered on, along the beach,
> Till within the range of a carbine's reach
> Of the leaguered wall; but they saw him not,
> Or how could he 'scape from the hostile shot?

Did traitors lurk in the Christians' hold?
Were their hands grown stiff, or their hearts waxed cold?
I know not, in sooth; but from yonder wall
There flashed no fire, and there hissed no ball,
Though he stood beneath the bastion's frown,
That flanked the sea-ward gate of the town;
Though he heard the sound, and could almost tell
The sullen words of the sentinel,
As his measured step on the stone below
Clanked, as he paced it to and fro;
And he saw the lean dogs beneath the wall
Hold o'er the dead their carnival.
Gorging and growling o'er carcase and limb;
They were too busy to bark at him!
From a Tartar's skull they had stripped the flesh,
As ye peel the fig when its fruit is fresh;
And their white tusks crunched o'er the whiter skull,
As it slipped through their jaws, when their edge grew dull,
As they lazily mumbled the bones of the dead,
When they scarce could rise from the spot where they fed;
So well had they broken a lingering fast
With those who had fallen for that night's repast.
And Alp knew, by the turbans that rolled on the sand,
The foremost of these were the best of his band:
Crimson and green were the shawls of their wear,
And each scalp had a single long tuft of hair,
All the rest was shaven and bare.
The scalps were in the wild dog's maw,
The hair was tangled round his jaw.
But close by the shore, on the edge of the gulf,
There sat a vulture flapping a wolf,
Who had stolen from the hills, but kept away,
Scared by the dogs, from the human prey;
But he seized on his share of a steed that lay,
Picked by the birds, on the sands of the bay."

Here the spirit of Minotti's daughter, now disencumbered of its bodily case, appears to him in the form of a lovely apparition.

" He turned to the left, is he sure of sight?
There sat a lady, youthful and bright."

We must confess that we did not at first perceive that this fair apparition was not flesh and blood; we owe the information to good old Minotti, who afterwards tells the renegado that the lady had died the day before the meeting between them. We were led into the mistake by her seeming exultation at having passed the guards, the gate, and wall, and a part of the enemy in *safety*, which would have been nothing for a ghost to have done; for spirits

"In what shape they please,
Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
Can execute their airy purposes,
And works of love, or enmity fulfil."

This ghost of Lord Byron's has a kind of amphibious being, that halts between animal and spiritual existence; she appears to have had the capacity of solid touch, and at the same time to have been "transparent of hue," admitting light through her liquid dimensions. When the noble poet next tries his hand at a ghost, we recommend him to give it decided attributes either negative or positive, and not to mock us with these semi-substantial creations of his brain.

"Once she raised her hand on high,
It was so wan and transparent of hue,
You might have seen the moon shine through."

She then breaks out, with rather awkward alacrity for a ghost, in the following words:

"I come from my rest to him I love best,
That I may be happy and he may be blest.
I have passed the guards, the gate, and the wall;
Sought thee in safety through foes and all."

The dancing measure of these lines soon, however, settles into something more suitably solemn: the proposition of the lady is that the renegado should immediately dash his turban from his brow, and swear to spare Corinth; and she gives him only the few seconds that a light cloud is passing over the moon's face to make up his mind in: he remains firm, the lady vanishes, and the doom of Corinth is determined. The whole passage is scarcely redeemed by the poetical thought of the passing cloud, as the measure of the moment in which death and eternity were involved, and which thought the poet ingenuously owns to have been taken from the English Version of "Vatheck."

The dreadful assault of the city is now announced:

"Hark to the trump and the drum,
And the mournful sound of the barbarous horn,
And the flap of the banners that flit as they're borne,
And the neigh of the steed and the multitude's hum,
And the clash, and the shout 'they come, they come.'"

If the troops approached the city in the same sort of disorder that the above namby pamby verses run in, they were not led on as they ought to have been; and we the less wonder at the dispatch which Minotti, the governor, makes of them when they enter the city; who, though an aged man, knocks them down like nine pins.

"There stood an old man—his hairs were white,
But his veteran arm was full of might;
So gallantly bore he the brunt of the fray,
The dead before him, on that day,
In a semicircle lay;
Still he combated unwounded,
Though retreating, unsurrounded.
Many a scar of former fight
Lurked beneath his corslet bright;
But of every wound his body bore,
Each and all had been ta'en before:
Though aged he was, so iron of limb,
Few of our youth could cope with him;
And the foes, whom he singly kept at bay,
Outnumbered his thin hairs of silver gray.
From right to left his sabre swept:
Many an Othman mother wept
Sons that were unborn, when dipped
His weapon first in Moslem gore,
Ere his years could count a score.
Of all he might have been the sire
Who fell that day beneath his ire:
For, sonless left long years ago,
His wrath made many a childless foe;
And since the day, when in the strait
His only boy had met his fate,
His parent's iron hand did doom
More than a human hecatomb."

After the display of this physical anomaly, so unlike Solomon's portraiture of old age, Alp and Minotti are brought singly before each other, and as each being invincible by the sword, the poet might otherwise have been puzzled in deciding the combat between youth and age, Alp is dispatched by a musket shot from an unseen arm. As usual, whenever something shocking is the subject, right merrily skips the dancing metre; as thus:

"The sharp shot dashed Alp to the ground,
Ere an eye could view the wound;
And crushed through the brain of the infidel,
Round he spun and down he fell."

A departure out of life so expeditious might, in the opinion of some, have dispensed with the necessity of telling the reader that no locus penitentiæ was allowed to the dying man. But to extinguish all doubt of the hero's dying with the seal of damnation on his sins, the poet is careful to tell us that

"Unanealed he passed away
Without a hope from mercy's aid—
To the last a Renegade."

Who would not wish the story to have terminated here, when he reads, in the description of the stand made in the church by the aged Minotti and his remaining force, the following profane and wretched lines:

"Darkly, sternly, and all alone,
Minotti stood o'er the altar stone:
Madonna's face upon him shone,
Painted in heavenly hues above,
With eyes of light and looks of love;
And placed upon that holy shrine
To fix our thoughts on things divine,
When pictured there, we kneeling see
Her, and the boy-God on her knee,
Smiling sweetly on each prayer
To heaven, as if to waft it there.
Still she smiled; even now she smiles,
Though slaughter streams along her aisles:
Minotti lifted his aged eye,
And made the sign of a cross with a sigh,
Then seized a torch which blazed thereby;
And still he stood, while, with steel and flame,
Inward and onward the Mussulman came."

And again:

"The foe came on, and few remain
To strive, and those must strive in vain:
For lack of further lives, to slake
The thirst of vengeance now awake,
With barbarous blows they gash the dead,
And lop the already lifeless head,
And fell the statues from their niche,
And spoil the shrines of offerings rich,
And from each other's rude hands wrest
The silver vessels saints had blessed.
To the high altar on they go;
Oh, but it made a glorious show!
On its table still behold
The cup of consecrated gold;
Massy and deep, a glittering prize,
Brightly it sparkles to plunderers' eyes:
That morn it held the holy wine,
Converted by Christ to his blood so divine,
Which his worshippers drank at the break of day,
To shrive their souls ere they joined in the fray."

Old Minotti had a last resource: he touches a train communicating with a magazine of gunpowder, and in a moment all is exploded into ruins. But we cannot say that, even from this scene of combustion and flame, the genius of Lord Byron is properly ignited. It is scarcely warm—and in the midst of the

raging and smoking element his muse halts, her blood is frigid, and her language ludicrously bombastical. Some two or three images by which this description is characterized are certainly poetical, and we would fain have picked them out of the fire at the hazard of burning our fingers; but they are surrounded by so much rubbish that it was impossible to extract them.

So much for the Siege of Corinth, which is inscribed by the noble author to his friend John Hobhouse, Esq.; who, if he has the talent of discovering excellencies where none else have perceived them, we hope has found beauties in this performance which have escaped the rest of mankind.

The other Poem, y'cleped " Parisina," is dedicated to another friend of the author, Scrope Beardmore Davies, Esq., who has also an opportunity of attesting the strength of his friendship by finding out and pointing out the merits of this last performance. We are among the number " whose delicacy or fastidiousness" deem the subject of this poem " unfit for the purposes of poetry." The Greek dramatists, Lord Byron says, and some of our old English writers, were of a different opinion. Now we desire his Lordship to tell us how often he finds incest the subject of the Greek drama, and where it is the subject, whether it is not represented to us as ignorantly committed, and even then as a stain of inexpiable turpitude. The grave and lofty writers of ancient tragedy so managed the subject as to convey nothing to tickle the ear of lust, or shock the sentiment of modesty. As for our old English writers, will any man of taste for a moment maintain that their pattern is a justification to the present age for the departure from delicacy and chastity in composition. Lord Byron need not be told that his Poem of " Parisina" is read in domestic circles, where parent and child, and brother and sister, are assembled to hear a tale of unnatural prostitution. We solemnly proscribe this poem from the English fire-side, and summon all that religion, morality, and policy enjoin, to give authority to the interdict. We are happy to be able to say in this instance, that the subject is not more objectionable than the poetry is contemptible. The story shortly is this:

" Under the reign of Nicholas III. Ferrara was polluted with a domestic tragedy. By the testimony of an attendant, and his own observation, the Marquis of Este discovered the incestuous loves of his wife Parisina, and Hugo his bastard son, a beautiful and valiant youth. They were beheaded in the castle by the sentence of a father and husband, who published his shame, and survived their execution. He was unfortunate, if they were guilty; if they were innocent, he was still more unfortunate: nor is there any possible situation in which I can sincerely approve the last act of the justice of a parent."—*Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works*, vol. 3d. p. 470, new edition.

As a specimen, we will present the reader with the solemn preparations for the beheading, which appear to be the part of the poem in which the writer seems most solicitous of poetical effect:

"The Convent bells are ringing,
But mournfully and slow;
In the grey square turret swinging,
With a deep sound, to and fro.
Heavily to the heart they go!
Hark! the hymn is singing—
The song for the dead below,
Or the living who shortly shall be so!
For a departing being's soul
The death-hymn peals and the hollow bells knoll:
He is near his mortal goal;
Kneeling at the Friar's knee;
Sad to hear—and piteous to see—
Kneeling on the bare cold ground,
With the block before and the guards around—
And the headsman with his bare arm ready,
That the blow may be both swift and steady,
Feels if the axe be sharp and true—
Since he set its edge anew:
While the crowd in a speechless circle gather
To see the Son fall by the doom of the Father."

The poem of "Rimini," by Mr. Leigh Hunt, is dedicated to Lord Byron in a style of very familiar friendship; and there appears to be a considerable sympathy between them in the choice of their subjects. The reader may learn, in the following extract from the dedicatory address, (if he can understand it) how to be easy in good company, and how to maintain the natural equality of poets:

"Having thus,—with sufficient care, I am afraid,—vindicated my fellow-dignity, and put on my laurel in meeting you publicly, I take it off again with a still greater regard for those unceremonious and unpretending humanities of private intercourse, of which you know so handsomely how to set the example; and professing to be nothing more, in that sphere, than a hearty admirer of what is generous, and enjoyer of what is frank and social, am, with great truth, my dear Byron, affectionately yours, Leigh Hunt."

As Mr. Hunt, we believe, is no great admirer of dignities and distinctions in political life, so neither will he allow any artificial difference between the language of poetry and of ordinary life. According to his theory we have all been poets without knowing it, and our common table-talk, if sufficiently animated, has in it all the elements of poetical composition.

"With the endeavour to recur to a freer spirit of versification, I have joined one of still greater importance,—that of having a free and

idiomatic cast of language. There is a cant of art as well as of nature, though the former is not so unpleasant as the latter, which affects non-affectation. But the proper language of poetry is in fact nothing different from that of real life, and depends for its dignity upon the strength and sentiment of what it speaks. It is only adding musical modulation to what a fine understanding might actually utter in the midst of its griefs or enjoyments. The poet, therefore, should do as Chaucer or Shakspeare did,—not copy what is obsolete or peculiar in either, any more than they copied from their predecessors,—but use as much as possible an actual, existing language,—omitting of course *mere* vulgarisms and fugitive phrases, which are the cant of ordinary discourse, just as tragedy phrases, dead idioms, and exaggerations of dignity, are of the artificial style, and yeas, verilys, and exaggerations of simplicity, are of the natural."

"With the Greek dramatists," says Mr. Hunt, "I am ashamed to say, I am unacquainted; and of the Latin writers, though Horace, for his delightful companionship, is my favourite, Catullus appears to me to have the truest taste for nature."

The nature, which Catullus had a taste for, was nature in her grossest and most libidinous forms; but his language, if sometimes simple, was never uncultivated, and often highly adorned. No Latin author was more nice in the *curiosa felicitas* of his words than Horace, whom Mr. Hunt so loves for his companionship. It was in the grander ode that his excellence principally consisted; and in the opinion of that great bard the poet was one *cui mens divinior atque os—magna sonaturum*. Neither of his favourite poets would, therefore, have countenanced Mr. Hunt in his levelling doctrines in poetic composition. Indeed the practice of none of the greatest poets supports this new theory; and as the feelings of mankind have so long admitted a difference between a poetical and common diction, Mr. Hunt must not expect to turn the current of sentiment which has flowed one way for ages, unless by a gigantic testimony in his own practice to the truth of his bold discovery.

Mr. Hunt has not spread out his very ingenious theory into much detail, so that we are not quite sure whether he means seriously to adopt the precepts of Martinus Scriblerus for dressing our thoughts in the most elaborately low expression; but certain it is, that much of the language of this poem, and we presume that part of it, which Mr. Hunt considers as arrayed in its proper attire, is in no higher dress of phraseology than that, with which ladies and gentlemen are accustomed to carry on the commerce of civility, merchants to transact their bargains, or mistresses to give orders to their maids.

Mr. Hunt is, however, in happy contradiction to himself, in many passages of his little poem, which display a richness of expression, a vivacity in the colour of his words, and a chaste use of

appropriate ornament, which show him to feel that poetry is an art, notwithstanding his industrious affectation to hide it. We have hopes, therefore, that one day or other we shall see Mr. Hunt emancipated from these very silly prejudices, and acknowledging in every language a diction of common use, and a diction of poetry;—a truth which every school-boy with good natural taste is sensible of almost as soon, and almost as distinctly, as he knows the difference between plain and plum-pudding. If we were asked to point out the great error of modern poetry, we should say, in the language of Lord Bacon, "vain affectations:" and we warn Mr. Hunt against that species of affectation, which may be called the cant of nature. We warn him, too, against giving to gross nature the attractions of poetry, and conjure him not to add in future to the practice of borrowing from the passions assistance to poetry, instead of using poetry to elevate and purify the passions. His poem has not a very delicate foundation, though it must be admitted, to his honour, that the superstructure which he has raised upon it is not a temple to licentious love, and that he has touched with as much decency, as the conduct of the story would admit, the crime of which he has painted the consequences in the language of virtue.

The story of Paulo and Francesca is one of considerable interest, and, as an episode in the Inferno of Dante, has certainly "a cordial and refreshing effect in that singular poem." Mr. Hunt has managed the tale with great address, particularly in the manner in which he has introduced the younger brother to the bride of the elder—the Lord of Rimini. The slow under-workings, the imperceptible progress of criminal passion, and the flattering security of conscious virtue, are represented with great truth and knowledge of nature, and convince us that Mr. Hunt might become a poet, if he would but be content with being what he is, and divest himself of his retrograde ambition. He has also a very insipid affectation of trifling minuteness in collateral and mere circumstantial description, a certain garrulous prolixity of narration, which, in the favourite familiar idiom of this writer, degenerates almost into gossip. We will give our readers a few out of a multitude of specimens of this familiar style attempted to be introduced into poetry by this writer.

> "Was there a tilt-day or a tournament,—
> For welcome grace there rode not such another,
> Nor yet for strength, except his lordly brother.
> Was there a court-day, or a sparkling feast,
> Or better still,—in my ideas, at least,—
> A summer party to the greenwood shade,
> With lutes prepared, and cloth on herbage laid,
> And ladies' laughter coming through the air,—

He was the readiest and the blithest there;
And made the time so exquisitely pass
With stories told with elbow on the grass,
Or touched the music in his turn so finely,
That all he did, they thought, was done divinely."
(P. 50—51.)

" Nor to say truly was he slow in common
To accept the attentions of this lovely woman."

" How charming would he think to see her there,
How heightened then and perfect would appear
The two divinest things this world has got,
A lovely woman in a rural spot."—(P. 58.)

" 'Twas not—he fancied—that he reasoned worse,
Or felt less scorn of wrong, but the reverse.
That one should think of injuring another,
Or trenching on his peace—this too a brother,—
And all from selfishness and pure weak will,
To him seemed marvellous and impossible."—*Ibid.*

" How placidly, yet fast, the days succeeded
With one who thought and felt so much as she did."—(P. 61.)

" And scarce could help exclaiming in his woe,
Oh gentle creature look not at me so."—(P. 90.)

The parley before the duel of the brothers carries Mr. Hunt's theory of poetry into a most farcical burlesque.

" Arrived, and the two squires withdrawn apart,
The prince spoke low, as with a labouring heart,
And said, ' Before you answer what you can,
I wish to tell you, as a gentleman,
That what you may confess,' (and as he spoke
His voice with breathless and pale passion broke)
' Will implicate no person known to you,
More than disquiet in its sleep may do.' "—(P. 93.)

But the absurdity of this strain of poetry is crowned by the following verses, where the squire of the slain brother brings the sad news to Francesca, where she lay dying in her bed.

" ' Madam,' said he, ' 'tis I; one who may say,
He loves his friends more than himself to-day;—
Tristan.'—She paused a little, and then said—
' Tristan—my friend, what noise thus haunts my head?
Something I'm sure has happened—tell me what—
I can bear all, though you may fancy not.'
' Madam,' replied the squire, ' you are, I know,
All sweetness—pardon me for saying so.
My master bade me say then,' resumed he,
' That he spoke firmly, when he told it me,—
That I was also, madam, to your ear
Firmly to speak, and you firmly to hear,—

That he was forced this day, whether or no,
To combat with the prince; and that although
His noble brother was no fratricide,
Yet in that fight, and on his sword,—he died.'"

The catastrophe (which we had almost forgotten) is dressed also in very wretched poetry.

"'May I come in?' said he:—it made her start,—
That smiling voice;—she coloured, pressed her heart
A moment, as for breath, and then with free
And usual tone said, 'O yes,—certainly.'"

The rest of the third canto is as dull in the manner as it is indelicate in the matter, and is scarcely enlivened by the smart inuendo or *negative pregnant* with which it is concluded. As a proof, however, that Mr. Hunt can do better things than what we have shown, the reader may take the following specimen:

"A suitable attire the horses shew;
Their golden bits keep wrangling as they go;
The bridles glance about with gold and gems;
And the rich housing-cloths, above the hems
Which comb along the ground with golden pegs,
Are half of net, to shew the hinder legs.
Some of the cloths themselves are golden thread
With silk enwoven, azure, green, or red;
Some spotted on a ground of different hue,
As burning stars upon a cloth of blue,—
Or purple smearings with a velvet light
Rich from the glary yellow thickening bright,—
Or a spring green, powdered with April posies,—
Or flush vermilion, set with silver roses:
But all are wide and large, and with the wind,
When it comes fresh, go sweeping out behind.
With various earnestness the crowd admire
Horsemen and horse, the motion and the attire.
Some watch, as they go by, the riders' faces
Looking composure, and their knightly graces;
The life, the carelessness, the sudden heed,
The body curving to the rearing steed,
The patting hand, that best persuades the check,
And makes the quarrel up with a proud neck,
The thigh broad pressed, the spanning palm upon it,
And the jerked feather swaling in the bonnet.
Others the horses and their pride explore,
Their jauntiness behind and strength before;
The flowing back, firm chest, and fetlocks clean,
The branching veins ridging the glossy lean,
The mane hung sleekly, the projecting eye
That to the stander near looks awfully,

The finished head, in its compactness free,
Small, and o'erarching to the lifted knee,
The start and snatch, as if they felt the comb,
With mouths that fling about the creamy foam,
The snorting turbulence, the nod, the champing,
The shift, the tossing, and the fiery tramping." (P. 103.)

Upon the whole we consider "Rimini" as in general a mere composition of rhyming prose, with enough of spirited thought and poetical fancy interspersed through it to make us wish the author a safe deliverance from that silly scheme of poetical reform of which he vainly aspires to be the founder.

Art. XIX.—STATE OF PARIS.

1. *A Visit to Paris in* 1814. *Being a Review of the Moral, Political, Intellectual, and Social Condition of the French Capital.* By John Scott, Editor of the Champion, a Weekly Political and Literary Journal. Third Edition. 8vo. London, 1815. Longman and Co.
2. *Paris Revisited, in* 1815, *by way of Brussels; including a Walk over the Field of Battle at Waterloo.* By John Scott, Author of a Visit to Paris in 1814, &c. Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 408. London, 1816. Longman and Co.

We have heard it remarked by a man of fashion, that no one was fit for good company, who had not visited the principal noblemen's and gentlemen's seats in England. This was during a long and frightful war, which threatened interminable ennui to all lovers of distant and changeful scenery, and to whom the exterior shows of a wide and dissipating world ever present a more engaging object of contemplation than the interior of their own families, and their own bosoms. Happily the war is terminated, and peace to the memory of the arch-murderer himself, now that he has by the surrender of his person "opened the gates of mercy" on those, whose principal war-sufferings arose from confinement to home; and has chained the dæmon ennui for a long succession of ages, it is hoped, to that, which Mme. Bertrand has already discovered to have been its birth place, the rocky promontories of St. Helena.

We now presume a similar deduction to that mentioned above will be made from the fashionable qualifications of every individual, who has not visited the newly opened mart of novelty and bliss in the gay metropolis of France; the home circuit has been now pretty fully, and by general consent, exchanged for the high road from London to Paris. The pilgrimage of fashion

has taken a new direction; and, since the way has been smoothed by every possible facility and the most convenient gradation of travelling expenses, down to the three guinea fare for caravan and diligence from capital to capital; since, moreover, the time is so pleasantly shortened that the tradesman's week from Saturday to Monday sennight, or the parson's week from Monday to the ensuing Saturday, may suffice to give all the necessary talk, and really to make a tolerably travelled gentleman, fashion has overspread the nation, and taken full possession of the manufactory and the market. Every petty street in the metropolis now boasts its fashionable apprentice. From the peeress to her ladyship's hair-dresser, foreign grace and foreign principle are to be found in fashionable combination. Each market-town in every county has sent its representative to this seat of fashionable legislation. Villages have now their specimens of men or monkeys "who have seen the world:" and we add, with a mingled feeling, that most neighbourhoods can furnish some fashionable pastor, who has thought a temporary secession from his flock desirable to bring home to them, doubtless, a still more pointed admonition against the pomps and vanities of this wicked world.

From this torrent of elegant innovation we, as Reviewers, who are necessarily careful of our own dignity and estimation with the public, take refuge in that species of omnipresence and universal knowledge, which the critic claims; and, whether we have or have not been in Paris ourselves, choose to have it understood that we are perfectly acquainted, no matter how, with every thing necessary to furnish an accurate judgment on the present change of habits and usages.

We cannot, indeed, but think that the consequences of this great change in the opinion and conduct of the English public may be considerable. Unhappily it does not appear that *abroad* all the weight and respect attaches to the character of the English traveller that he either considers himself entitled to, or that he claims and receives from his fellow countrymen on his return. It is not understood that our general estimation on the continent as a military and commercial nation is likely, hereafter, to stand higher for the sounds, which on nearer approach issue from beneath the lion's skin; nor are the calculators of profit and loss quite agreed as to the value of any commodities, which we gain in exchange for a daily expenditure of 40,000*l.* in the streets of Paris: on the other hand, it is thought by some that the expenditure of the same sum, in the same period, on our own shores, might have afforded much relief at a critical moment to the labouring and ill-supported efforts of the farmer and manufacturer. The absence of so many contributors to the assessed taxes is suffered,

whether justly or not, to lay a perceptible addition on the burden of those who keep house at home; and what is the worst of all, the importation, that takes place on the return of many of our travellers, who seldom return *as* they went, is not considered as any material compensation for their absence.

What sort of an accession may indeed be reasonably expected from this source to our general store of sentiments and habits on all the important departments both of public and private life, may be further developed in the following pages. We only allude to these more serious consequences at the present moment, in order to acquit the possible authors of them, for the most part, of any systematic or premeditated *intention* of evil in their production.

Whatever the *consequences* may be of this travelling mania, the *motives*, we are free to own, may be safely assumed for the most part to be of a moderately innocent nature. If some go with the premeditated design of feasting their eyes and all their senses upon the guilty gratifications, which are now pretty well known to await them at every corner of a city positively wreaking with sensuality; others, we are persuaded, have no such plan. That some go merely because they had the opportunity of going, and some because others had gone before them; that not a few are there in order to tell their grandchildren in future times that they were so, and to excite in them the same distaste for home, which has already cost their own pockets so many ill-spent livres; that a mixed multitude, whose taste for pictures and statues had been in many cases wholly formed from the family piece with Moses in the fore ground, and the frowning giants in Guildhall, have gone to visit the Louvre with much indifference whether they find the masterpieces of the arts themselves or only the places where they had been; and that the largest mass of visitors find their ample reward in the living spectacle of hundreds and thousands of their fellow creatures ranged in line, capped or helmeted as may be, on horse back or foot, in red, blue, green, and white—"captain, or colonel, or knight in arms," all this we readily allow; and our only counterpoise for so much expense of time and money is the cheap and, we fear, unavailing wish, that our countrymen may be either a *little* wiser or a *little* better for the experiment.

One motive, however, remains unmentioned for visiting Paris, which has its full weight with us, and which the English nation would be ungrateful indeed not to recognize as conferring a great national benefit in its exercise; and that is, the motive of writing a book. We think that whoever travels to France for the purpose of writing, in a lively and attractive manner, an account of what he has seen, in general renders this service to society, that he will

satisfy a vast multitude of sober and sedate persons, whose only motive for going would have been a blind and untutored curiosity, of the propriety of staying at home; and the few, whom such questionable, not to say flagitious, details will send upon their travels, are such already, that probably neither their morals nor their example, will be rendered much worse by the journey.

We wish, indeed, by no means to cast a slur upon the whole travelling fraternity; we are aware of the pointed remark,

> Wit undistinguishing is apt to strike
> The guilty and not guilty both alike.

The benefits of foreign travel when conducted in proper time and place, by fit persons, and with discreet views, have been too often enumerated to need any illustration from us. Travelling is in some sort the privilege of Englishmen; and Mr. Scott, the writer who stands at the head of our article, and to whose motives for travelling we are ready to give every possible credit, has justly appreciated both the extent and the cause of this privilege, which Englishmen seem so instinctively to claim to themselves. There is something so original in Mr. Scott's observations, that we shall give them to our readers nearly as they stand.

"The impulse which sends such a host of travellers away from this country shews a freedom and custom as well as a power to think:—a bold and independent disposition, careless of trifling embarrassments, and feeling certain of every where commanding respect;—a constant and complete circulation of intelligence;—an active temper;—and lastly, a very general command, not only of comforts, but of superfluities.

"So little are foreigners enabled to share with us in a propensity so arising, that nothing appears to them so unaccountable as the swarm of British emigrants, who put themselves to the trouble and expense of travelling, for no definite, nor even divinable purpose. At first it was imagined that our countrymen had some interested motives, which they concealed under an air of carelessness and extravagance." (P. 4, 5.)

To counterbalance this universal passion for travelling, though at the risk, as Mr. Scott afterwards tells us, of being thought "greater fools than foreigners first took us to be," he gives in the same chapter some very just and discriminating remarks on what may be called the *domestic* principle of the British nation: which as a set off against the other we must also be allowed to extract.

"Our strong anxiety to learn domestic news, and violent propensity to detail it, may be open to a sneer; but, if I mistake not, they form important links to unite British society closely together, which make each individual feel himself but as a part of one, and give to the body

politic the full strength of all its component members. We are all here actively employed in thinking of and about one another; in France they know comparatively nothing of one another: it is needless to say in which country public spirit is most likely to abound. That the frame-work of a nation may be strong, each of its divisions must be let closely into the others,—for then a blow, on whatever spot it may fall, is sustained with the united strength of the whole." (P. 9, 10.)

The first of the works we have now before us, and from which the above extracts are made, we consider as important in every point of view. It professes to be a General Review of the Moral Political, Intellectual, and Social State of the French Capital. The very ready sale, and general attention, which it has met with from the public at large, bear a better testimony than our own to its general merit. The same circumstances also lead us to suppose, that the estimate it contains of this unfortunate capital may be considered as about the standard opinion, which will henceforth be framed respecting it in this country. And the absence of all contradiction as yet to the statements here made, with the numerous confirmations of them that if necessary might be collected from a hundred quarters, leave us no room to suppose that the estimate so formed in the public mind can be materially erroneous. The whole work is divided into chapters, of which the above extracts are from the first. The three next detail the journey and approach to Paris. The four in succession describe for the most part the exterior appearance which Paris presents to the eye, intermingled with many entertaining anecdotes, and some just observations on taste in building, &c. An equal number of chapters then freely and fully detail the miscellaneous topics of social and political life, which that motley harlequin metropolis of vanity might be expected to afford. And after some anecdotes and accidents in the thirteenth, the three concluding ones enter pretty largely and methodically on the state of literature and the arts and sciences, the progress of education, and the general standard of the French mind and the French taste. The Third Edition commences with a new preface referring to the still later novelties of 1815, together with "more last words" in a Journal kept at Paris from June 20 to July 8, during the interesting period succeeding the day of Waterloo, and which has already appeared in most of the public prints. Certain *original* Articles in an Appendix, partly *compiled* from the History of Paris by Le Grand and Laudon, and partly composed on the spot by an intelligent and highly scientific gentleman, on the Buildings, Botanic Garden, Conservatory of the Arts, Fetes, Catacombs, &c. of Paris, bring up the rest of a volume almost as diversified, sprightly, and *breathing* as the capital of which it tells. As a specimen at once of Mr. Scott's *naiveté*, and what, perhaps, to a

very refined taste may appear also in a degree *grossièreté*, of description we extract the following handsome picture of an Englishman of *fashion* travelling to Paris; which may incidentally serve likewise to justify the humble panegyric we have before attempted on that class of connoisseurs.

"The chances of travelling threw amongst our party a young English shopkeeper, who had taken it into his head to pay a visit to Paris of one week's duration. He must, he said, be back to business by *Monday*, for the bustling time was coming on. He knew not one word of the French language, nor a single individual in the French capital: his days and nights had been devoted, not to Belles-Lettres, but to the ledger; yet he was determined to see for himself what was fine in the Louvre. This was the great object of his expedition, and it was disappointed—for the Louvre was shut against the public when he arrived, and he did not stay long enough to enable us to fulfil our promise of procuring him a permission to be admitted. He was an excellent national specimen of faults as well as of good qualities,—and furnished some amusing contrasts on the road; so that his introduction here will probably be held very excusable. Never were instinctive curiosity, personal confidence, and regardless intrepidity, more conspicuous than in the travels of this personage. He knew but one side of every question, and he was as positive as if he had spent his life in impartial examination; he had provided for nothing, but he was quite sure of finding himself comfortable in every thing. He had not procured a passport, for he was certain passports were all nonsense,—they would never dare to stop an Englishman; one could travel all over England without a passport. He had no letter of credit, or French money of any kind; but he had plenty of bank-notes, and he would like to see a Frenchman refuse a Bank of England note! Of course he was exposed to many difficulties, which, had he been alone, he would have found serious; but he treated them all with the utmost carelessness, and attributed them to the awkwardness and ignorance of the people amongst whom he had come.

"The first occurrence that a little shook his notion that an Englishman might stride, like a superior being, over France, just as he pleased, attending to none of its customs or rules, and treated with respectful submission by its inhabitants,—was the entrance of a young French dragoon officer, of a fine commanding figure, and authoritative expression of face, into the Diligence. Our shopkeeper saluted him with just such a look of familiar examination as that with which Sir Joseph Banks would regard an inhabitant of a South Sea island on his first visit to Soho Square: but there was a checking haughtiness in the returned glances that soon had its influence on the spirits and behaviour of our countryman. The soldier, it was easy to see, had no feeling of partiality towards the foreigners he had accidentally joined: and he soon explained the state of his mind in this respect, by pulling out of his pocket a snuff-box, on the top of which there was a beautiful portrait of Napoleon in enamel. He carried his devotion so far as to bear about his person another portrait of the same

individual suspended by a black ribbon, worn round his neck. He was evidently a gentleman, and was the first we had seen in France who bore that assurance in his external appearance; this circumstance I believe repressed our companion far more than the fierce sword and fiercer looks of the stranger. Besides, all that our traveller had read in his country's newspapers of that monster Buonaparte, rushed into his mind, and to have before his eyes, and actually touching his knees, a man who wore the pictures of such a wretch, who clearly regretted his downfall, and who had most probably taken a part in his dreadful deeds, quite bewildered the comprehension, and overpowered the senses of the Englishman. He probably would not have felt more alarmed or horror-struck if Dr. Faustus, immediately after making over his soul to the Devil, had sat down within six inches of him; or if one of those human beings who float down the Ganges, devouring corpses, had come reeking from such a repast to breathe in his face.

"The officer resisted conversation with more firmness than is usual in France: it generally happens there that sulkiness soon gives way to loquacity, but our military companion cut off the approaches to his sentiments, and shut himself up in almost total incommunicativeness. Once only he made an observation which bore on the state of public affairs;—and it was perfectly explanatory of the whole system of his thinking—its causes as well as its condition. Something was said to convey a civil compliment to France, in an expression of satisfaction that she was now open to the visits of Englishmen; and a hope was added, that this pleasant intercourse might last, and the tranquillity of Europe remain uninterrupted.—The remark was not addressed to the officer, but he replied to it, evidently under a strong impulse: "Very good, Gentlemen,—this tranquillity of Europe is a fine thing,—but will it not keep me *always a Captain?—Toujours Capitaine*, was the emphatic conclusion of this sudden burst from taciturnity.

"He did not long continue with us, and the traveller of a week looked after him as he descended the steps of the vehicle, as a man looks after the smoke of a piece of artillery, that has suddenly gone off near him, and startled him, more through the influence of surprise than of fear. Our countryman withdrew his looks slowly from the disappearing object of his astonishment, and then fixed his eyes on ours, as if to say—'*Well this is something, however!*' To those of us who had spoken to the Frenchman, he addressed himself with that sort of admiring curiosity for information, which the crowd, who visit a menagerie of wild beasts, shew towards the man who dare put his hand into the lion's mouth, and venture within reach of the tiger's paw. 'Did he really, then, like Buonaparte?'—'Had he been at Moscow?'—'Was he likely to rebel against Louis the Eighteenth.'" (P. 42—46.)

Following Mr. Scott along his road lined with apple trees, pear trees, and vineyards tinted by the autumn to a reddish yellow, and sharing with him his interesting and contemplative view of *Mont-martre*, we enter with him, past the town of Saint Denis, the narrow dirty Rue du Fauxbourgh Saint Denis, frowning on

us blackly with its lofty houses, till we arrive clear up to the Porte Saint Denis. It is a triumphal arch rather than the gate of a town, built in honour of the victories of Louis XIV. but now inscribed on its entablature with the self important mystic N, accompained with relics, under Napoleon's register, of the reign of terror, in bits of the words *Liberté*, *Egalité*. It was returning to its original office of *immortalizing* Louis XIV. when Mr. Scott passed under it, who recommends niches to be made for statues, and inscriptions suitable to the times, rather than permanent memorials of fixed events to be engraven on such monuments.

But for more important pursuits, we should willingly accompany our traveller from his hotel on his sally forth in Paris, first to the Boulevarde, the magnificent avenue or street lined with trees, and furnished with gravel walks winding in or around the capital; thence to the Place Vendome, a rough-hewn treeless square, signalized principally by Napoleon's pillar 140 feet high, and encased with Austrian cannon: thence along the wall of the Tuileries to the Place Louis XV. where bursts upon the entranced view on each hand the facing avenues of the Champs Elysées and the Gardens of the Tuileries, and in front the Pont Louis Seize over the Seine, and beyond the fine edifice of the Palais Bourbon, the gorgeous dome of the Hopital des Invalides, and down the Seine the crowded and castellated structures of the city in the richest variety. Having passed,

"Through streets of palaces and walks of state,"

and listened to the many anecdotes, *terribly* pretty, which associate these places with the multifarious horrors of the Revolution, we should willingly rejoin him in a subsequent chapter on the centre of Pont de Tuileries; looking backwards on the superb and immense line of diversified colonnade skirting the Seine, formed by the united palaces of the Tuileries and the Louvre, and forwards on the Palais des Arts and Mint, backed at a distance by the towers of the Pantheon, St. Sulpice, and Notre Dame, and the various picturesque risings of the Fauxbourg St. Germain. Finally, we should be glad to wander with our guide in the more remote and grotesque quarters of the city, admiring in the most ordinary streets the noble style of building, with broad fronts, decorated with friezes, cornices, pillars, pilasters, and balconies, and rising to a height that to a stranger seems stupendous, and pleased with the pellucidness of the medium afforded by the air of Paris for viewing them: disappointed, however, by the total incongruity and unseemly mixture of their inhabitants, from a marquis on the ground-floor, to a vagabond non-descript in the garret, and perhaps

stumbling a dozen times in the dirt and filth which bestrew alike their private passages and the open streets, if not exposed to greater dangers from the total oblivion in which the accommodation and safety of the foot passenger have been passed over in the original construction of this monarchical city.

Time, however, forbids our further proceeding on architectural surveys; and for the more important purpose of this review, which is to give our readers some notion of the moral state of the population of Paris, we emerge with Mr. Scott in his ninth chapter, full in the centre of that which the Parisians boast to be a non-such in the world, the PALAIS ROYAL. This place, consisting of a square, enclosed by the buildings of the Orleans Palace, and first perverted by its wretched owner, nick-named Egalité, from the purposes of state to be the receptacle of every thing that was abandoned in morals and anarchical in politics, during the early stages of the Revolution, may now be considered, in Mr. Scott's animated language, as one of the most characteristic features of Paris:

"It is dissolute, gay, wretched, elegant, paltry, busy, and idle:—it suggests recollections of atrocity, and supplies sights of fascination:—it displays virtue and vice living on easy terms, and in immediate neighbourhood with each other. Excitements, indulgencies, and privations,—art and vulgarity,—science and ignorance,—artful conspiracies, and careless debaucheries,—all mingle here, forming an atmosphere of various exhalations, a whirl of the most lively images, a stimulating melange of what is most heating, intoxicating, and subduing.

"The Palais Royal," he proceeds, "was the focus of the revolution: its coffee-houses, its theatres, its cellars, its gambling houses, its bagnios, poured forth their living streams into its central space, to listen to the invitations of the orators, who incited the people to carry into effect the savage schemes organized within its concealment." (P. 118.)

After two traits of French levity and French barbarity, admirably illustrative of the national character during that horrible period, Mr. Scott then, through a long series of the most vivid descriptions of this far-famed resort of pleasure, undertakes

"The nauseous task to paint it as it is,
Cruel, abandoned, glorying in its shame."

We know not what part to select from the disgusting portrait with the best chance of revolting, without staining, the mind of the reader by the wretched details of this sink of vice. We pass slightly over the morning appearance of the Palais Royal when it has all the air of a sort of idle political exchange: "The chairs placed under the trees to be hired, with a newspaper, for a couple of sous each; the

crowd of sitters and standers gradually increasing; the buz of conversation swelling to a noise; the cafés filling; the piazzas becoming crowded; the place assuming the look of intense and earnest avocation: yet the whirl and the rush consisting of those who float and drift in the vortex of pleasure, dissipation, and vice." We distantly allude to the hour of dinner, when the saloons of the restaurateurs are all full, with an air of enjoyment, abundance, frankness, and congeniality, proportioned to the strangeness and uncomfortableness which would be felt at the homes of the respective visitors: the dinner from 1*s*. to 3*s*.; and the superior restaurateurs exhibiting their antique casts, resplendent lamps, and more resplendent Madame in the midst, like a divinity, superintending the scene, "*et vera incessa patuit dea;*" their artifices of cookery, and seductions of the table; the voracious appetites even of delicate ladies; the promiscuous assemblage of *all* sorts, as if in inseparable and honourable companionship. We advance to the evening scene.

"The advance of the evening throws out, still more prominently, the native and most peculiar features of the Palais Royal. When the numerous windows of this immense mass of building are lighted up, and present to the eye, contemplating them from the dark and deserted ground in the center, a burning exterior, leading the imagination to the lively scenes within, perhaps a more impressive spectacle is not to be found in the world. From its foundations floods of light stream up, and illuminate crowds that make their ingress and egress to and from the cellars, which are places as well of amusement as of refreshment. Here are dancing dogs, blind men who play on musical instruments, ballad singers, petite plays, and the game of dominos. The seats are crowded with men and women,—wives mingle with prostitutes, tradesmen with sharpers; the refreshments are all of a light nature; nothing like intoxication is seen, and there is no very gross breach of decorum in behaviour. (P. 129.)

After this follow some remarks in Mr. Scott's best style upon this very circumstance, of the good order, specious sobriety, and almost creditable debauchery, which prevails over this temple of Belial.

"It is a sign that the virtue of a nation is spurious and debased, not that its vice is scanty and *unaggravated*, when its manners fail strongly to mark the distinction between the worthy and the reprobate."—"Above the cellars and the shops of the Palais Royal there are the elegant Cafés, the common and licensed gambling houses and bagnios,—and still higher the abodes of the guilty, male and female, of every description." (P. 118.)

The curious spectacle of the splendour of the former, particularly that of the Café des milles colonnes (so called because its columns are reflected in glasses till they become thousands),

with its busy waiters, painted walls, sparkling delicacies, *presiding priestess*, and her attendant dandling beaux, contrasted with the purely shocking and undisguised demoniac blackness of the licensed gambling houses above, *to some of which females are admitted as well as men*, affords a contrast profitable for meditation to the contemplative moralist. One would think the bane and antidote were both together, the deception, and the real colour of vice so approximated to each other, that they could deceive no longer; the flattering and painted face of pleasure in a moment reversed, and seen instead the black and ghastly train of woe, streaming from behind her. We run over with silent disgust these and other scenes, where "pleasure assumes the louring, jaded, desperate look of vice;" the Café Montansier, a theatre of prostitutes; places that will, and places that will not, bear description. "Prostitution dwells in its splendid apartments, parades its walks, starves in its garrets, and lurks in its corners;" and we conclude with Mr. Scott,

"Such is the Palais Royal;—a vanity fair—a mart of sin and seduction! Open, not on one day of festival, or on a few holidays,—but every day of the week. Every day does it present stimulants and opportunities to profligacy and extravagance,—to waste and riot, and idleness. It is there—always ready to receive the inclined, to tempt the irresolute, to confirm bad habits, and dispel good resolutions. It is there,—as a pestilential focus of what is dangerous and depraved,—a collection of loose and desperate spirits, in the heart of a luxurious capital,—as a point of union for every thing that is evil,—where pleasure, in all her worst shapes, exists, in readiness to be adapted to every variety of disposition, and to enslave and corrupt the heart by making the senses despotic. There is but one Palais Royal in the world, say the Parisians, and it is well for the world that there is but one." (P. 137.)

For the honour of human nature one is tempted to ask, is not this exagerated? At least, is it fair to take the Palais Royal as a specimen of French manners and Parisian morals? We should boldly answer in the negative if we had seen any thing, we will not say in Mr. Scott's pages alone, but in aught we "have ever read or even heard, by tale or history," to prove an exception. As far as we can trace the wretched features of this wretched community, they are all of a piece. "The Boulevardes are full of coffee-houses, like those of the Palais Royal. Here are petite plays, public dancing-rooms, public gardens, and exhibitions without number." They walk, they dance, they waltz, they madden with delight, grisettes as well as duchesses.

The basis of sound morality is universally acknowledged to be sound religion. Hence without a direct inquiry into the morals of a nation, perhaps one criterion by which they might be indirectly estimated, is the state of the public sentiment with respect

to the national religion. Christianity, the only true one, and transcendently the purest of all religious systems, has furnished a perfect code of moral practice. The state and estimation in Paris of this invaluable institution—invaluable were this present life alone considered—may be best understood by the following short notice which is all we can trace in Mr. Scott's pages on the subject of religion.

"The dupery of superstition has been succeeded by the most hardy infidelity of the most chattering species. The ladies assail you in a crowded room, where there is waltzing going on, to put you seriously to your proofs in favour of the existence of a God:— the little boys stop in the streets to laugh at the priests, as mountebanks that are at once dishonest and ridiculous:—a Madame la Portiere of an hotel threw herself into a convulsion of rage because a priest came to invite her daughter to confession. One day, observing a sentinel standing on guard near a church, the name of which I wished to know, I addressed him for the information I wanted:—the reply was—'*Monsieur, I am a soldier, — I know nothing of churches!*'—In the tragedy of Œdipus, by Voltaire, Jocaste says to her wretched husband—

> 'Nos prêtres ne sont point ce qu'un vain peuple pense,
> Notre credulité fait toute leur science.'

These lines, on the night I saw the piece performed, were scarcely out of the actress's mouth, before the house shook to its foundations with the thunders of applause: it was a tumultuous roar, proceeding from tradesmen, soldiers, men, women, and children,—the thoughtless as well as the thinking,—all uniting to testify an abhorrence of religion and of its ministers.—The light of philosophy is a fine thing, and the darkness of bigotry is as hateful,—but the illumination of the French is rather too diffused to be pure,—and too fierce to be perfectly safe." (P. 154, 5.)

The latter sentence is rather too fine, we must acknowledge, for our coarse perceptions, and is one instance of not a few in which our author's love of point, with a specious appearance of profundity, takes the place of what we may fairly call his usual correctness, as well as real depth of remark. The conclusion from the whole passage is but too obvious.

The *theatre* of the French is in point of fact their church; the drama their religion. It has never appeared to our minds a very favourable circumstance in the history of the drama, that it has derived no sensible improvement from the institutions of Christianity. Public sentiments have improved under their influence, public morals, even philosophy, and all the various "artes vivendi." But the drama remains pretty much where it ever was. Its most sanguine admirers will not assert it to have become a school of Christianity; and its avowed advocates have never proved its morals superior, if equal to those of Euripides or Seneca. We think there is little doubt that the gravity and decorum of the

theatre in its several arrangements, both with respect to the audience and the actors, was more signal in heathen countries than of late in Christian communities. How our readers will class the Parisians we do not know; but this is certain, the Parisians never seem to be serious but in their dramatic exhibitions, never orderly, decorous, and *conscientious* but in supporting the sacred majesty of the theatre. The comparison of the French and English drama in this respect, and the general observations on the French in chap. 14, are sufficiently curious when viewed in this light; and though we should be sorry to see half the profligacy of the Palais Royal in the lobbies of our theatres, yet the total and scrupulous exemption from such scandals in the French playhouses, forms a curious peculiarity both in their national character and in the drama itself, considered as any criterion of the morals or decencies of a nation.

Mr. Scott, in his detail of these peculiarities of French character, has caught the indignant spirit and even something of the language of the Roman satirist in pourtraying similar manners in a very similar people. "The French are certainly a dramatic people:" Mr. Scott. "*Natio comœda est*:" Juvenal. And indeed, whether the classical reader carries his recollections back to the debaucheries of *Antioch near Daphne*, where the city took its very character and note of distinction from the neighbourhood of those infamous groves dedicated to the celebration of every licentious rite, and the pursuit of every impure pleasure; or stops short at the degenerate days of the "Græcæ urbis," so "intolerable" to the satirist we have above alluded to; or descends still further to the union of all the varieties of wickedness in the streets of Rome,

> "Et linguam, et mores, et cum tibicine chordas
> Obliquas, necnon gentilia tympana . . . .
> . . . . . . et ad Circum jussas prostare puellas—"

we think the resemblance will equally strike him as he steals along the Boulevardes, the Plâces, the Jardins, and the Champs of modern Paris.

It is only reasonable to expect that the general manners and customs of society will correspond with this state of public morals to which they perhaps have given the first colouring. All the feelings of a social or domestic nature—feelings connected with "that only bliss of Paradise which has survived the fall," rise with indignation at the statements under this head, which we can never think Mr. Scott would have ventured upon without the highest warrant. We almost open the book at random to receive such information as the following:—"The ladies at dinner take their share in all the topics of the day, and as the price of their

permission to remain with the gentlemen, countenance and promote an easy licentiousness of conversation, which forms about a medium between the grossness which too often prevails among Englishmen when the females have quitted them, and the scrupulous decorum which they preserve before the sexes. It scarcely admits of a doubt that the French custom indicates a state of society in which the feelings of delicacy and morals are light and loose, &c." (P. 150.) Sad indeed is the case when modesty is insulted in her last refuge, and even in mixed society virtue is without the support of mutual respect, or a common sentiment of decency.

This species of moral invasion is, however, best illustrated by that which is too notorious to need either our own or Mr. Scott's information upon the subject, the general profanation in these halcyon regions of the matrimonial vow. The fatal legacy left to the nation by the licentious examples of Louis XIV. and XV. with no counteractive check in the hearts of a people with whom religion was nothing but form, and the Grand Monarque the real idol of their souls, might easily explain all that followed. Infidelity, which supplanted superstition, and Jacobinism which dethroned the Bourbons, were not calculated to reinstate morality in her ancient power; and marriage, as the first social institution of Divine authority, would be the last respected by the abjurers of the Deity.

"These breaches of nuptial fidelity, it is affirmed, are less universal at present than they were before the revolution; but, I believe, it is doing no injustice to the state of French morals to say, that they now constitute the majority of cases of conduct after wedlock in the genteel circles of Paris. Before the revolution a case of postnuptial chastity in these circles was scarcely known and never expected. At present, the indulgence is managed with no needless display of indecency, but it is perfectly well understood, both by the husband and society, and the indulging party is not severely treated by either.

"It is not thought an insult, in Paris, if a man, sitting down by a married lady, immediately commences making love to her. His language is divested of all unnecessary explicitness; but it has a sufficiently palpable tendency to the last favour that a woman can grant. It is, in fact, a mere matter of course almost, to address a French married lady in those terms of gallantry, which, in England, are employed to females whose persons are still disposable. The woman to whom they are directed may not be inclined to listen to them,—she may be engaged at the moment, or the application may be disagreeable;—but she never thinks of resenting the application as offensive.—In short, a husband here cannot rationally calculate on his wife's fidelity, and I believe, very seldom does. If the parties, *after* marriage, feel themselves very much attached to each other, their reciprocal fidelity is secured by a

mutual pledge on honour, which is added to the compact made at the altar, as an extra obligation, not necessarily included in the original engagement." (P. 197—199.)

The whole of this chapter, from the first education of the child "by watch and ward," for the express and important purpose of marriage, to the final delineation of the mysterious boudoir, the couches and the statues, for the sole use of the married lady and her *favourite*, who is *not* her *husband*, is well deserving the deepest attention. It requires no comment. Either the whole is an impudent fabrication, or it is a disgrace to any Englishman to enter the society of Paris. At least, if Parisian fashions are hereafter to become the model of British manners, it is well to be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of this new school. Perhaps some clue may be obtained from the enormities at home with which the English newspapers are beginning to teem. One only fear arises, that those who can be moral as well as peaceable should see one reason less for satisfaction at that termination of *war*, which only exchanges it for the contagion of the worst of *plagues*, and which may be said to transfer our danger from what we had ceased to fear, the arms of French soldiers, to that, against which our only security is *perpetual* fear, the arts of French voluptuaries.

It would be needless, were it possible in a short compass, to sketch further the social manners of this corrupt community. The grand distinctions of their social character are, in the widest possible sense, a want of true and just feeling of every kind, an insufferable vanity, and an absorbing love of pleasure: every thing in their minds has a polar tendency to these ruling objects. They care for each other and the world just as they administer to the gratification of them. Their boasted elegance goes just so far as to set off what they imagine to be their national splendour, and to gratify their egotism, vanity, and profligacy, and no further. The love of *neatness*, *propriety*, and *good order*, for its own sake, appears neither in their dress, their houses, nor in any of their family arrangements. They see no incongruity in the wretched union of finery and poverty which appears throughout their silk and worsted habiliments,

"Where tawdry yellow strives with dirty red."

Their politeness owes its origin to the same blunted feeling. Nothing strikes their mind as *outrè* in the cobler or tailor's aping the shrug, the grimace, and the chatter of the marquis or the marshal. At one moment they pass each other with a bow and a whisper, hat in hand, and with an air of reciprocal respect and concern: at another they gaze on a wounded wretch brought in from

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the barrier, or on five hundred waggons of groaning victims from the field of Waterloo, without an emotion of sympathy. They would willingly pay a compliment to their conquerors the English; but they do not perceive the manifest sacrifice of English honour to French vanity in the very words, "I assure you, Sir, I should have been sorry if the Emperor had succeeded in his design of destroying England." And their blundering vivacity, joined to a besotted vanity, is well characterized in the following trait: "A Parisian shopkeeper is likely enough to ask, whether in England we are not accustomed to have boxing matches in our drawing-rooms; and, in the same breath, descant on the glories of David's last picture, and the *scarcely inferior* excellence of Raphael's Transfiguration." (P. 181.)

If from the moral and social state of this capital we proceed to consider its intellectual and political boasts, the prospect bears much of a corresponding character. The 'Common-place Book' of an English artist, to which Mr. Scott professes himself indebted for some good observations on the fine arts in chap. xiv. has, we think, well characterized the French intellect in general, when he says of the French artists in particular, "they display cleverness as distinct from genius and feeling." (P. 258.) This seems to be about the short epitome of all that our traveller and his friends, to another of whom he owes a very interesting Appendix of Papers on the Jardin des Plantes, the Collection of Mechanical Inventions, &c. together with his 15th chapter on the Schools and Literary Establishments of Paris, have been able to collect in their various excursions. The cleverness of the French nation, tending towards the same point of national vanity, has made them unquestionably eminent in all the arts necessary for *talking* and display. The list of schools, lectures, museums, galleries, institutions, &c. &c. is indeed without end; and with much that is superficial and common-place at the same time, much, it must be allowed, is detailed in Mr. Scott's pages of the highest interest. Of the contents of the Louvre indeed, every Frenchman with heart-rending accents must be now ready to exclaim,

——"Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum."

But in every department of the arts and sciences it would be impossible to read the single paper containing "an original Description of the Jardin des Plantes, with its extensive menageries, cabinet of all the objects of natural history, museum of anatomy, and lecture-rooms for the chief departments of the physical sciences," without confessing the mental activity of

this nation of *philosophers.* The multiplicity of their schools and lectures, from the University itself, the College of France, and the four Sections of the Prytanée in Paris, St. Cyr, St. Germain, and Compeigne, down to the empty ruinous cottage beyond the Paniere St. Antoine, entitled "Ecole de l'Architecture rurale,"—together with the laudable freedom of access to them allowed to all,—could not fail of making the whole population, what in fact we find them, an educated mass. There every body knows what any body has to teach. And much information, we may reasonably suppose, will be thus diffused when Laugier, Bouillon la Grange, and Vauquelin, lecture on chemistry, Haüy on minerals, Lacépède on reptiles and fishes, &c. and Dessieu conducts "herborizations" in the fields.

Their labours and successes in the various arts of war,

> "All ills of Mars's nature, flame and steel,"

have been written in letters of flame on the backs of European nations for some years past; and it has remained for British valour to sound the utmost depth of French intellect in their favourite science. With a view to the ultimate ends of this art, "it was undoubtedly the aim of Bonaparte to degrade literature, and give a superior place to the sciences." And truly, wherever the sublimer efforts of mind, the purer exercise of genius,

> "Creating fancy's wild magnificence,
> And all the dread sublimities of song,"

are demanded—whatever arts require of man to be elevated above the inquisitor, often perhaps the impertinent inquisitor, into the mysteries of nature, and to become the soaring candidate for immortality, the aspirant to the skies, and the compeer in nobleness of thought with the heavenly inhabitants; there do we find a barrier placed to all further progress in the Frenchman's mind. His *translations* from the classics, to which both his education and his subsequent studies in literature seem principally confined, enable him to *talk* of the authors whom he can neither imitate nor judiciously admire. The flippant effusions of Regnaud St. Jean d'Angeley are to him quite as good as Demosthenes or Cicero: and the crude productions of his own David reach his *beau ideal* of the possibilities of the art.

"In all those efforts of mind," says Mr. Scott, "that denote deep internal feeling, chaste and sound principle, and enlarged and honest observation, the French are at present behind not only the English, but also the Germans. The whole of their system of society and instruction is opposed to what is natural, touching, and pure; and

their remarkable disposition to look for models only to themselves and their own possessions, stands directly in the way of their improvement. England has at present five or six excellent poets,—France has not one; it might be said she never had: but she cannot be convinced of this, and she cannot be convinced that the hardness and poverty of David do not constitute a standard of the first rate excellence in art. She has the antique, and she prides herself on these monuments as if they had been achieved by herself; but her vanity prevents her from making a judicious use of her good fortune in this respect. She merely extracts a few mechanical rules from these high examples, but to the soul of the lesson, and to the inspiration of the inducement, she is utterly callous. Her students, when I saw them in her museums, surrounded by Raphaels, and Titians, and Rubenses, were generally employed in copying from David. They preferred the sublimated and refined essence of art, as contained in the works of this modern Frenchman, to its crude and coarse body in the productions of the Italians of the fifteenth century!" (P. 269, 270.)

To say the best of the French, in one word, they are a nation of dilettanti, of connoisseurs, and *collectors*. They nationally reflect the individual character and spirit of the grand master of their modern school, the vivacious, acute, airy, dogmatical, grasping, superficial, arrogant, and malignant Voltaire. What lapse of time, or length of rigid lustrations, will bring back the period of the Pascals, the Bossuets, the Rollins, the Daciers, the Boileaus, the Racines, the Fenelons?

Mr. Scott, and perhaps the nation itself of whom he writes, saves us the trouble of saying much on its *political* state, at least as distinguished from those other features of character on which we have already dwelt long enough. On this head, separately from the rest, our author contents himself with a few slender extracts from his own political journal, which occupy about the same space in his work which the political code of France itself does in the feather-stuffed head of one of its choicest citizens. The French may be considered, since the revolution, to have had no distinct political character. "It was ridiculous," says the shrewd Montesquieu, "to see the impotent attempts of the English to establish a republic under Oliver Cromwell without virtue." How infinitely more ridiculous has the attempt appeared to set up *any* creditable and consistent system, whether republican, monarchical, despotical, or even jacobinical, under the influence of the late political anarchy in France! Napoleon's system has clearly proved itself to have been nothing but a mere state-juggler's trick. The master movement throughout was the assembling of the conscription for the perpetration of his nefarious crimes; and the whole share taken by *the people*

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was dancing and capering and feasting at the news of great victories, "*panem et Circenses.*" Political opinion there seems to have been none; and indeed how *could* any fixed principles either of thought or action subsist through a long period of five-and-twenty years, literally crammed not only with changes and revolutions, but with contrarieties and subversions. Nothing, indeed, but such a cause could possibly account for, or render credible, such an effect on public sentiment as the following sentences in Mr. Scott exhibit:

"The grumbler with whom you converse in the *Café* is not prepared to tell you any thing but that he is dissatisfied. The course of his mind seems shaped at a savage random, and in an unblushing defiance of truth and propriety; he seeks for no covering for his nakedness, nor concealment for his deformity. He will declare to you that he wishes for Buonaparte's return, and confess, in the same breath, that the Emperor was a great liar, very extravagant in his plans, and tyrannical in his temper. He will utter an invective against the Bourbons, but add that the King is a sensible man, heartily devoted to the welfare of his kingdom, and very likely to promote it. He will protest with fierce insolence in his look and gesture, that France is the most civil and most triumphant country in the world; and conclude his flourish by groaning out, in a tone between that of sighing and cursing, that he burns to assist in obliterating the shame of defeat, and destroying those who are destroying his omnipotent nation. He swears in your face, that the allies only respected Paris because they knew that the Parisians could, if they pleased, have destroyed all the armies that advanced upon them from Montmartre. He refers you, with insulting gasconade, to the catalogue of the monuments of art which his capital contains, where you find it recorded, by the learned member of the Institute, that the *Transfiguration* was given by victory to France, it being a *chef d'œuvre* belonging to her by *destiny!* but if you hint that, if the French gained it by victory, they have only kept it through the generosity of their conquerors, his rage knows no bounds." (P. 186, 187.)

Can it be worth while to proceed in the *investigation* of political character like this? or must we anxiously open Mr. Scott's Re-visit to Paris in 1815 to ascertain the exact change produced in public affairs and the public mind by the event of Buonaparte's return from Elba, his discomfiture at Waterloo, and the final re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne of St. Louis? Not that we deny to our traveller the credit due to him for the prophetic glances at future possibilities in his first tour, which, in more than one instance, he lives to see within one short year, no, not a year, fulfilled in his second. Nothing more confirms in our mind the unfavourable view he has taken of this unhappy people than the sufficiently accurate tally of his last with his first account. The

slender political reflections which, on such a subject, even his prolific mind seems capable of having originated, are nearly all shut up in a dozen concluding pages on "the unsatisfactory and uncertain political state of France; political remarks on the Bourbons, &c." And the body of this second volume is wholly made up, we might say, of certain interesting and graphical details (to which we are sorry we cannot do more than pay this passing tribute) of the battle of Waterloo and the removal of the pictures and statues from the Louvre. In these two events, particularly the latter, all their political reflections, all their little stock of constitutional principles, would seem for the time then passing to have been concentrated; and we doubt if the displacing of the Venetian horses from the car of Buonaparte would, in the mind of the ordinary Frenchman, have been ill-matched by those which would be awakened in the breast of an Englishman by a proposal to repeal the Magna Charta. "There was not," says Mr. Scott in his lively manner, "a Parisian vender of a pailful of water that did not look like a hero when the Venetian horses were spoken of. "Have you heard what has been determined about the horses?" was every foreigner's question:—"Oh! they cannot mean to take the horses away;" was every Frenchman's remark. It was soon however confirmed that this was too true; and the French then had nothing left for it but to vow that if the allies were to attempt to touch them in the *day-light*, Paris would rise at once, exterminate its enemies, and rescue its honour. (P. 343, 344, *Paris Revisited.*) Were it of importance to give any further specimen of this truly *unprincipled* nation, who could in a moment big with such mighty destinies, chatter in this fashion about a few scraps of antique bronze, we might refer the reader to pp. 290 et seq. of the same volume, where the author testifies to their enthusiastic *loyalty* and their shouts of *Vive Henri Quatre, à bas le Bonaparte*, under the very same windows where they had a few years before danced as enthusiastically around the heads that were stuck upon pikes and held up in the faces of Louis the Sixteenth and his queen. It seems that now Bonaparte is mightily unpopular amongst them; they caricature him in their shops, they ridicule him in conversation, they mimic him in puppet-shows: in short, "such in these moments as in all the past," Mr. Scott properly characterizes them after all their tergiversations and daily changes "an unchanged nation," true to their perpetual versatility, constant only to their inconsistency; and the very question whether the reign of the Bourbons will be long or short, he properly considers as to be determined upon no other principles than the question whether it will be sun-shine to morrow or rain.

That there are political *parties* in France is indeed a fact sufficiently notorious, as it has often turned out sufficiently lamentable. There are the party of desperadoes who risked all to bring back the sole author of all their honours, privileges, and wealth, the idol Bonaparte, from his exile. There was a party, or rather "an union of persons, strong in talent and faithful in intention, that would gladly have improved the last revolution, which they were far from desiring, so as to have made it the occasion of steadfastly settling the form of their government on the sound principles of popular rights." To these last (who we will own demand some tribute of respect on their *disappearance*, not to say some political virtues in those who should be worthy to replace them,) have succeeded the *ultra royalists*, who are ready for as much mischief as may make the account even between the cause of Buonaparte and their own; and the more temperate and judicious party of whom we are willing to believe Louis XVIII. himself to be one, and who would do much if they were capable of *wishing* back the government and people of France into reason and tranquillity. Add to these the few seeds of a defunct Roman catholic establishment, still rotting in the ground, and ready to spring up into something like its primitive form and operation, together with some lurking symptoms of a *yet* tolerated protestant spirit, and then, perhaps, you have the whole congeries of elements, imperfect as they are, out of which the future fabric of French happiness, liberty, and virtue, is to be raised. Were we, however, even wise enough to be able to pourtray the exact form and lineament of the building, *if* erected at all, as well as to determine the length of time that it will take to erect it from such *materials*, we trust we should still be wise enough also to know that we have drawn sufficiently on the time and attention of our readers in tracing the *ground* on which it is to be reared. Whether or not the French nation shall be found ultimately capable of sustaining the desired fabric must, we think, be rather left to time itself, than expected of the most sagacious prophet of futurity to determine.

One observation only we are bold enough in conclusion to make, that whatever effectual remedy is to be applied to the present disordered state of the French capital and French nation must be applied to the real *seat* of the disorder. Palliatives here or elsewhere will be of little avail; and an attention to mere external symptoms will only mock the unskilfulness of the practitioner. The disorder began in departure from the true principles of morality, religion, and conscience, and there the cure must begin also. The fatal series presented to us during the century which terminated with the French revolution was that of superstition, immorality, infidelity, and anarchy. And can any thing,

therefore, be more clear than that, to recover the best principles of good order and good government, we must begin a converse series of reason, morality, and religion, leading at length to a faithful and permanent discharge of the reciprocal duties between the governors and the governed. We shall hail no measures with satisfaction which do not go to the extent of influencing the moral character, and awakening, if possible, the dormant conscience, and all the lost religious energies, of the Frenchman's mind. To rescue him from a slavery to the events of the passing moment, you must set before him things which are "not temporal but eternal;" you must make him pervious to the rays of eternal truth; you must render him feelingly conscious of the eternal relations of right and wrong; you must elevate him to the dignity of thought, and give him materials to exercise his thought upon, which shall at once enlighten his understanding, rectify his judgment, subdue his passions, and purify his affections and his heart; shall we say all in one word? you must give him the Bible, and enable him to read and understand it. We believe a free and enlightened toleration, with a chastised liberty of the press, will do more for that nation than any other measure of legislation, even than the crude adoption of the British constitution itself. Where *we* began, *they* must begin: and we believe if Louis XVIII. and his ministers have learnt any lesson at all from past events, or are at all worthy of the solemn trust now recommitted to their care, they will, in the settlement of the new constitution of church and state, deeply feel how much depends on the choice they make between the ordinary and vulgar principle of *making their religion political,* and the grand foundation of all British liberty and virtue, that of *making the state religious.*

Art. XX.—*Proposals for an Economical and secure Currency; with Observations on the Profits of the Bank of England, as they regard the Public and the Proprietors of Bank Stock.* By David Ricardo, Esq. 8vo. pp. 126. London, 1816. Murray.

Those among us (not a very unwieldy number) who have attended to the progress of political economy, the only branch perhaps of political knowledge which has yet attained the dignity of a science, know that we are considerably indebted to the industry and research of Mr. Ricardo. His correct conception of the

principles of political economy we have been always very ready to admit, and have regretted the necessity which we have, in an earlier part of this work, felt ourselves under, of opposing what appeared to us to be a too strict application of them to cases of extraordinary exigence.

In the work before us the author seems to have had in view only three practical points, for the elucidation of which the principles already established in the science were alone required. It was, indeed, to the first of them only that any of its general doctrines were applicable.

By our author himself they are exhibited in the shape of the three following questions:

"1st, Whether the Bank should be obliged to pay their notes in specie at the demand of the holders?

"2dly, Whether any alteration should be made in the terms agreed upon in 1808, between Government and the Bank, for the management of the national debt?

"And, 3dly, What compensation the public should receive for the large amount of public deposits from which the Bank derives profit?"

1. On the first of these subjects Mr. Ricardo's opinion is that the Bank should be compelled to pay their notes, not in coined gold or silver, but in a certain regulated weight of bullion.

The first and most important of all the attributes to be sought for in the medium of exchange is uniformity in value. Another attribute of great importance is convenience, or the facility afforded to the operations to which the medium of exchange is subservient. A third attribute, of inferior but not of inconsiderable importance, is cheapness, or the smallness of the expense at which the medium of exchange is provided and maintained.

To the accomplishment of all these ends Mr. Ricardo shows that his proposal will greatly contribute; while at the same time he abundantly proves that it gives rise to no other inconvenience which can operate as a valid objection. It will be readily admitted, if these points are made good, that no practical operation can be recommended on more incontestable grounds.

With regard to two out of the three useful purposes to which the mode of payment recommended by Mr. Ricardo is subservient, we mean the two mentioned last: namely, convenience and cheapness, the proof is so very short, that we shall advert to them in the first instance.

It is clear that the result of Mr. Ricardo's proposal would be to compose the medium of circulation entirely, or almost entirely, of paper. If bullion alone were paid for the notes of the Bank, the inconvenience of circulating bullion would of course secure the preference to notes. In fact, no coins, except small

coins for petty payments and the fractional parts of a note, would be made; and paper would perform the traffic of the country.

But in regard to cheapness, the difference between the precious metals which can only be procured at a great, and paper which can be procured at a very small, expense, is visible, and needs no illustration.

In regard to convenience, the superiority of the same medium is among men of business not less certainly recognized. The advantage of performing large payments by a medium neither bulky nor ponderous, and which discovers its value at a glance, the facility of transmission, the security against theft, and, in regard even to small payments, the absence of doubt as to weight or goodness, (for a forged note is far more rare than a bad coin,) not to speak of other advantages, constitute a balance in favour of paper money, which at last nobody appears to dispute.

Thus stands the case in regard to convenience and cheapness. But how does it appear that paying the notes of the Bank in bullion rather than coins, and converting the circulating medium into paper, contributes to the *uniformity* of that medium?

This is proved by the following steps. A paper money convertible at pleasure into the precious metals, whether in the shape of bullion or the shape of coins, enjoys all the uniformity of those metals, and no more. But in a country in which the circulating medium is chiefly composed of the precious metals, these metals themselves are liable to a variation, from which, in a country whose medium of circulation chiefly consists of paper, they are exempt. To this extent the plan of Mr. Ricardo would promote uniformity.

That a paper money convertible at pleasure into *coins* made of the precious metals corresponds with them in uniformity, is a proposition which had been so fully elucidated already, both by himself and others, that here Mr. Ricardo thinks it unnecessary to add any thing upon the subject. That a paper money resting on the foundation which he proposes would equally possess that advantage, he makes abundantly clear.

Mr. Ricardo proposes that the bank should be under an obligation to pay for their notes in bullion, at the mint price, £3. 17*s*. 10½*d*. for an ounce of gold. This would effectually prevent them from reducing the value of their paper *below* that of gold. Suppose they did, and that £4. of their notes were required to purchase an ounce of gold, every man who possessed £3. 17*s*. 10½*d*. of their notes would go to them, and exchange it for an ounce of gold: this ounce of gold he would sell immediately for £4. of their notes, gaining all the difference: he would immediately go to the bank with his notes again, and so

on without end. What the man would thus gain, the bank would lose, and would soon find how much it was their interest, by reducing the number of their notes, to raise the value of them to the level of the gold with which they were bound to exchange them.

It would be contrary to the interest of the bank to raise the value of their notes above that of the precious metals; because they could do so no otherwise than by diminishing the amount of them in circulation; and in proportion to that amount are their gains. So great then as is the improbability that the bank of their own accord, and without any reason, would diminish their gain, so great is the security which the public would enjoy against this source of variation. But to render the security against it complete, one of the simplest, says Mr. Ricardo, of all expedients will suffice. Let an obligation be laid upon the bank of purchasing at a rate somewhat below the mint price, all the gold which shall be offered to them for sale.

That this would effect the object is clear. Let us suppose that the bank, by diminishing the amount of their notes in circulation, raise their value above that of bullion; less than £3. 17*s.* 10½*d.* of notes will now purchase an ounce of gold. Let us say that £3. 15*s.* will do so, and that £3. 17*s.* is the price at which the bank are compelled to purchase. Every man who possesses £3. 15*s.* in notes may now purchase with it an ounce of gold; that ounce he may carry to the bank, where they are obliged to give for it £3. 17*s.* the man gains, and the bank loses two shillings by the transaction; and as these bargains would be incessantly repeated, the bank would soon be compelled, by enlarging the amount of its circulating notes, to reduce their value at any rate so far, that not less than £3. 17*s.* should suffice to purchase an ounce of gold.

That it could produce no improper inconvenience to the bank is equally sure. By keeping the value of their notes (always regulated by their amount) at a level with the rate at which they are obliged to pay for them in gold, they would render it a source of gain to themselves, and of loss to the seller, to be compelled to purchase gold.

To prevent the inconvenience which minute transactions might by their multiplication produce, Mr. Ricardo thinks, that a minimum might be fixed, of twenty, for example, or any other number of ounces, which might appear best adapted to the ends in view.

It thus sufficiently appears that a paper money, regulated according to the proposal of our author, would possess all that conformity with the precious metals, which can possibly belong to a paper exchangeable at pleasure into coins.

It remains to be seen in what manner he proves that, in a country in which the circulating medium should thus be regulated, the precious metals themselves would obtain a uniformity which otherwise they could by no means possess.

The value of money does not depend upon its absolute quantity; but upon the proportion between that quantity, and the payments which it has to perform, allowance being at the same time made for the greater or smaller economy with which it is used. Where hoarding is unknown, and the art of banking is well understood, the same amount of transactions will be performed with a much smaller quantity of money, than in a situation where money is hoarded, and economy in the use of it is unknown. But these circumstances being considered equal, money rises or falls in value exactly as it bears a less or greater ratio to the payments which it has to perform. If the quantity of the money is lessened while the payments are the same, or the payments are increased while the quantity of money is the same, the value of money is raised. If, on the other hand, the quantity of money is increased, while the payments to be performed are the same, or the payments are diminished while the quantity of money remains the same, the value of money will be reduced.

Now there are various circumstances which disturb this ratio between the quantity of money and the use to be made of it. All the circumstances which produce any increase in the quantity of commodities, that is, in the wealth of the country, are of this description. All circumstances which tend to diminish, even for a little time, the degree of economy with which money is used, are productive of the same effects, and sometimes to a great extent. Of this sort are all those alarms which induce people to hoard, and which, lessening the mutual confidence of mercantile men, render them less willing to deal on credit, or to accept in payment the checks, notes, or bills of one another.

By all these circumstances it is evident that a greater demand is every now and then created for money. Now this demand cannot be supplied in a country where the circulating medium is in the precious metals without disturbing the uniformity of that medium; in a country where it consists of paper regulated on Mr. Ricardo's principle, the demand may be supplied without any such disturbance. This, then, is the only thing which remains to be proved. When this point is established, the evidence of the whole doctrine is perfect and complete.

When the demand for money is increased, it rises in value. Suppose it metallic. Upon this rise, less than *3l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* in coins will purchase an ounce of gold; or bullion will be said to have fallen below its mint price. If the rise in the value of mo-

ney, or (which is another expression for the same thing) the fall in the value of bullion, should extend to a sufficient amount, a profit may be made by carrying bullion to the mint to be coined. This, by increasing the quantity of money, would lower its value; but, by diminishing the quantity of bullion at market, would raise the value of the precious metals. The level between the money and the bullion would thus be restored; but the value of both would thus be increased, and that value would continue till reduced by importation from foreign countries, or a fresh supply from domestic mines. This is the disturbance to which the uniformity of the precious metals is liable from the existence of a metallic currency.

From this it would be wholly exempt, where the currency was regulated upon our author's plan. Suppose, in that case, an increase of demand for money to increase its worth; instantly it is felt by the Bank that a greater quantity of notes may be issued with a profit till the demand is supplied. No deduction, in this case, is made from the quantity of bullion at market; and by consequence, no enhancement of its value takes place. The cause, which in the case of a metallic currency operated to disturb its uniformity, in that of a paper currency does not exist.

In the argument as above stated, the utility of a standard with which a paper currency should be held in conformity, and the superiority for that purpose of the precious metals, are points assumed. They are, indeed, so generally agreed upon by those whose knowledge of the subject entitles their opinions to any regard, and are so very evident in themselves, that they may well be considered as established propositions. Among other extraordinary doctrines, however, which during the late discussions on money found persons to broach them, was that of the inutility of a standard. Our author devotes a section to the exposure of this opinion. A particular commodity is used as a standard for the purpose of ensuring a certain uniformity in the value of money. No commodity is perfectly uniform; but we take the best we can find, and nothing more can be done. Without such a standard it depends upon accident, that is, the interests of those who have the power, whether you have fluctuation or not; and whether in a moderate or an immoderate degree.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we think it of importance to give our aid in fixing the attention of our countrymen upon one great inconvenience in the system of our currency; and that is, the use of *two* metals, silver and gold, each as a standard. This is not only an additional source of fluctuation, but it is moreover a source of great indistinctness and confusion. Undoubtedly we ought to adopt one of them, and resign the other. Mr. Ricardo adduces various reasons, which prove that silver ought to

have the preference. Of gold the only advantage is in facilitating large payments, which are still better performed in paper. Silver is more uniform in value; less subject to temporary disturbance by being more difficult to collect and to hoard; and it is the standard of all other countries, and would, therefore, deliver us from one cause to which we are now subject of unsteadiness and confusion in our exchanges with foreign states.

Among the causes of fluctuation in the state of money, Mr. Ricardo takes notice of a circumstance in our present situation, which, though it does not produce a fluctuation in the value of money, because it does not operate so long as to affect the price of commodities, produces a great temporary scarcity and inconvenience. Previous to the quarterly payments of the interest on the national debt, the money must be collected from the receivers-general; and the sum is now so enormous, that the quantity of money thus withdrawn from circulation produces for a week or more the most distressing want of circulating medium. The want frequently is so great that fifteen and even twenty per cent may be made for the use of money. After the dividends are paid, the superabundance of the circulating medium is often as great. The whole of this inconvenience might be completely obviated by a very simple expedient which Mr. Ricardo suggests. Let the dividend warrants be issued to the proprietors of stock a few days before the receivers-general are required to pay their balances into the exchequer; and let these warrants be receivable into the exchequer, in the same manner as bank notes: the greater part of the payments into the exchequer would be made in these warrants, and the state of the circulating medium would be little (if at all) affected.

Two sections only of Mr. Ricardo's pamphlet now remain unnoticed. In the first, proof is offered that the services which the bank renders to the public are greatly overpaid. Every person who agrees with the author in this proposition must also agree with him in his practical conclusion, that this excessive payment should be reduced to an accurate one, adequate to the services, and no more. For no proposition in mathematics is more undeniable than this, that every farthing of money which is paid for any one of the services rendered to the public, exceeding the smallest sum at which it is capable of being rendered, is, to that extent, an act of spoliation; since every farthing of money, which is thus misapplied, is taken from one set of persons to whom of right it belongs, and given to another person or set of persons to whom of right it does not belong.

We cannot multiply details so far as to present the statements by which Mr. Ricardo endeavours to show that the payment received

by the bank is excessive. Our limits oblige us to reserve this part of his subject for a future discussion; it must suffice for the present to say that, in order to lesson the great amount of ready money which the government keeps at the bank for meeting the demands of the various departments, Mr. Ricardo proposes that government should act as its own banker, making all the departments draw upon one office, whereby a much smaller fund in hand would suffice, and a great annual income be saved. But, if it should be supposed that government would not perform well the office of banker for itself, there is nothing whatsoever to prevent all the arrangements which are conducive to the saving proposed to be made through the medium of a bank.

The last section of this performance of Mr. Ricardo relates to the accumulation of the profits of the bank. By act of parliament the banks are bound to divide the whole of their profits, as often as they accrue, among the proprietors; and not to make any accumulation, which would, in fact, be adding to their capital stock, the amount of which is fixed by their charter. Mr. Ricardo computes that the accumulated savings of the bank amount at this time to thirteen millions. To this extent, he argues, has the law been violated; and notwithstanding this law, the bank, even yet, he complains, will neither divide these savings nor tell to what they amount. The design, according to his argument, is a fraudulent one; it is to prevent the public from knowing the exorbitant rate of their gains; because it is feared, that if the public, at whose expense, and to whose loss, these exorbitant gains are made, should know the extent of them, they would insist upon their being reduced; and the bank would thus no longer annually obtain a sum of money, which of right belongs to others, and therefore cannot of right belong to them, so great as that in which for some time they have been accustomed to indulge.

These different allegations seem to us to deserve to be authoritatively answered. The directors, by not disputing Mr. Ricardo's computation and refusing disclosure, countenance the suspicion that he is below the mark, and that they refuse to give the public information upon this subject, because the instruction of the public upon this part of the public's own concerns would not be for the interest of the bank. The fullest instruction of the public upon this head could let them see but one of two things; that the public business either had, or had not, been performed at the smallest expense.

Art. XXI.—*The Substance of some Letters, written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon.* In 2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1816. Ridgways.

In perusing the anonymous letters from an Englishman resident at Paris during the last reign of the Emperor Napoleon, the impression which has accompanied us throughout has been this, that the generality of the maxim which attributes without discrimination so much efficacy to foreign travel is founded in great ignorance of human nature, and especially of the national temper and interests of Englishmen. A certain condition, disposition, and preparation of the person being supposed, we are ready enough to admit the benefits which may result from travelling abroad. But where youth and inexperience, pushed into precocity by academical success and the flattery of friends, and permitted to invert the order of human relations and duties by teaching instead of listening, sets out upon travel with the philanthropical resolution of enlightening the world, and exposing errors and prejudices at home, he who expects a result either useful or agreeable must be a sorry calculator of moral chances. A habit of patient observation and sober reflection, aptitude to hear, reluctance to contradict, diffidence on complex subjects, acquiescence in comparative good, and a just estimate of human happiness and national greatness, must first evince the important fact that the culture has been sound at home, and that the mind has travelled far without locomotion, before we would, if we could have our will, permit a single Englishman to become a candidate for the benefits of foreign travel. This being our opinion, it will follow that we cannot have considered without some uneasiness the travelling propensity which has of late so developed itself that one wonders that Dr. Spurzheim has not found the character embossed on every Englishman's skull.

If the remarks which we have made are applicable to travelling in general, they must be acknowledged to be specially true with reference to the prevailing practice of resorting to the French capital. Unless a young man is British to the bone before he crosses the Channel, the subtile infusion of French principles will be sure to find its way into his system, and send him back to his own country a presumptuous declaimer against its government, and an arrogant contemner of its institutions.

The "Letters on the last Reign of Napoleon," did not come to our hands until we had completed our arrangement for the present number; but rather than suffer so much florid misrepresentation, and fallacious reasoning to pass uncensured by a journal so thorough-bred in British principles as our own, we have re-

solved to wedge in a few observations upon this ambitious performance. We read the letters through, and as we read we felt every thing honest, hearty, and manly in our minds, in direct opposition to every sentiment of the writer. As he has chosen to be anonymous, anonymous let him remain; but if we are not able to designate him by his name, we can designate him by his class. We are sure he must be one of those persons whom the importance attached by their own childish opinion to an acquaintance with certain revolutionists in France, who have unhappily outlived the storm to deride the imbecility of justice, and glory in their unpunished crimes, has bribed to an apostasy from the discipline of an English education and the maxims of their plain forefathers. The letters contain many passages which indicate a lively imagination and considerable attainments; and it is really vexatious to see so much capability so unhappily perverted by the contagion of Parisian politics and manners. In the restorers of Buonaparte's government he sees nothing but pure patriotism and enlightened humanity—in Buonaparte himself he sees, and he alone, that grandeur of soul, and those regulated dispositions, which offered to France the surest pledge of political freedom under a mixed monarchical sway. In Paris he sees engaged under what he calls the last reign of the Emperor Napoleon, in the great work of political regeneration, an august body of senators, bred in the school of the revolution, and perfected for their great undertaking by the lessons and example of Napoleon *the great*. What may be the standing in life of this ingenious writer we know not; but the probability is that he has never heard of the horrid transactions of the revolutionary period, but in company with the stories of giants and enchanters, and cruel uncles and step mothers, related to him in his nursery; and that all these tales of blood, whether recorded of Bluebeard or Buonaparte, are forgotten together, or if remembered are no longer a subject of terror, but appear in the bright and innocent colours of infantine associations. The characters who have waded through the revolution knee-deep in human blood are known only to this writer as they appear in the drawing-room, decorated with ribands, and strutting in the liveries of usurpation. He sees no stain of blood upon their escutcheons, and in their titles and their wealth he perceives only the legitimate reward of virtuous valour.

From the refreshing spectacle of moral revolutionary France this author turns towards his own country with a heart full of the most desponding presages. After fighting for so many years against jacobinism, and the child and champion of jacobinism, against principles of universal conquest and military despotism, against a hate avowed towards this country exceeding

the measure of common hostility, after a successful termination of this unparalleled struggle, the letter-writer takes it cruelly amiss that we should presume, with our conquering army at the gate of Paris, to assist in the restoration of that state of things which seemed most likely to accomplish the end for which we had been contending,—a satisfactory and secure peace, or, in other words, our existence as an independent nation. We are a nation tottering on the verge of ruin, rapidly tending to bankruptcy, and declining fast in spirit, and brought to the lowest state of depression by the disastrous victory of Waterloo. Instead of keeping at peace with Napoleon, of whose equitable views and magnanimous moderation we have had such decisive proofs; we have "blasted by one vast and unnatural effort the fairest promise of rational freedom that the imperfection of humanity could admit of being displayed in France, *or any other country.*" Do let us add, to finish the picture of our woes, the affecting consideration of the loss of that model of perfect constitutional government from which England, misgoverned oppressed England, might have perpetually recurred to repair and reform her political condition. These are the sage opinions of this profound politician; and with a mind so penetrating, and so decided upon questions the most complicated and vast in their relations and bearings, we do not wonder at finding him in Letter xv. gravely counselling one whom we cannot but infer, from the phraseology of some parts of this elaborate composition, to have been the father of the letter-writer, to vote as a member of parliament against the government, and in favour of peace with the much-injured Napoleon.

We should feel ourselves guilty of an absurdity almost equal to that which reigns throughout this whole performance, were we seriously to set about the refutation of it by argument. Could any thing be more silly and superfluous than formally to assign reasons why Buonaparte's return to France was not in parity with the descent upon our coast by the Prince of Orange; why the conduct of Marshal Ney does not furnish a parallel to that of our Duke of Marlborough; or to prove that the military leaders were really guilty of treachery and perjury, in abandoning their lawful prince and returning to the standard of the usurper. When we find a writer declaiming on the mild and paternal qualities of Buonaparte, and trusting to all the promises made by him at the moment of his restoration by the army, with the full consciousness of his danger from the confederated force of Europe—when we hear a young man retailing gravely, and in terms of the most implicit credence, all the little drivelling anecdotes, all the rambling talk of the capital about embracing, weeping for joy, beautiful speeches, declarations of devotedness,

and acts of gracious condescension, by and between the emperor and his new subjects—in a word, when we hear an Englishman bestowing the appellation of "great" upon Buonaparte,—we really do feel ourselves absolved from the duty of answering him: he has sufficiently answered himself.

But is it not remarkable that, after the "joyeuse entrée" of this "great man" this "extraordinary mortal," to whom ladies expressed their affectionate loyalty by embracing and weeping over him, and men by bearing the precious burden upon their shoulders, we find this enthusiastic description ending in the dry confession that *Napoleon is not popular*.

"I must now declare a truth," says this consistent writer, "which my respect for the cause with which he is at present identified makes me unwilling to own. Napoleon is *not popular*, except with the actual army, and with the inhabitants of certain departments; and, perhaps, even with them, his popularity is only relative. At no place is there so great a portion of the population decidedly averse to him as at Paris. The nobles of St. Germain are his declared foes—they have seceded: the shop-keepers, whose interest is connected with peace, wish him no good, as long as they see in him a promise of perpetual war. Hence, Paris, on the entry of Napoleon, presented but a mournful spectacle. The crowd, which went out to meet the Emperor, remained in the outskirts of the city; the shops were shut—no one appeared at the windows—the boulevards were lined with a multitude collected about the many mountebanks, tumblers, &c., which for the two last days had been placed there in greater numbers than usual by the police, in order to divert the populace. There was no noise nor any acclamations; a few low murmurs and whispers were alone heard, when the spectators of these open shows turned round to look at the string of six or eight carriages, which preceded the imperial troops. The regiments then passed along, and cried out *Vive l'Empereur*;—not a word from any one. They tried the more popular and ancient exclamation, *Vive Bonaparte*;—all still silent. The patience of the dragoons was exhausted; some brandished their swords, others drew their pistols, and rode into the alleys amidst the people, exclaiming, "*crie donc, Vive l'Empereur!*" but the crowd only gave way, and retreated without uttering a word. Lady ——— was present,—I have the account from her. You may wish me to reconcile this with my former statements; but I beg you to recollect, that it is my purpose only to tell you what I know and believe to be true; and that the variety produced by difference of place, of time, of circumstance, both in the optics seeing, and the object seen, may account for that which may at first appear a *discrepancy* in myself, and that, at the worst, the contradiction is not in me, but in human nature. To expect that uniformity of character and conduct in a whole nation, or any collected portion of it, which is scarcely ever to be found in a single individual, is the folly of a child, conversant only with the reconciled inconsistencies, or adjusted improbabilities, of a novel. Human character is, in the gross

like the individual of Horace, "*impar sibi.*" Impatience of consistency is allowed to distinguish this people above all others; I know not whether you will admit that it is a proof of their superior spirituality. Another poet tells us, that the generous courser "knows not how to stand still;" but a jockey might impute this rather to constitution than to superior condition or better blood." (Vol. i. p. 178—180.)

Now it is worthy of remark that after this floundering confession, with the insipid remarks and quotations at the conclusion of it, the writer begins the ensuing epistle with a corollary which involves a confession of the consequence of which he was by no means aware; which at once overturns his brilliant hypothesis of constitutional freedom under his "great man," his "extraordinary mortal," inasmuch as it admits that what Buonaparte promised on his return to the capital, and the measures he adopted, were extorted from him by the exigency of his situation. The letter thus sets out.

"The truth of what is stated in my last, that Napoleon did not remount the throne by virtue of his previous popularity, is shewn by the many measures which he has adopted to gain that popularity since his return. He has taken especial care to recognize the sovereignty of the people as the only source of legitimate power. The new council of state, in its first meeting, recognized 'que la souveraineté réside dans le peuple, seule source légitime du pouvoir.' The avowal of these principles might have been expected from the Carnots and the Benjamin de Constants, whose appointment to the places which they occupy is a guarantee of the intentions of the government, and of the confidence which, for the present at least, it seems calculated to inspire in the true well-wishers of France." (Vol. i. p. 181.)

To rely upon the permanence of measures adopted upon such principles and motives betrays a degree of credulity which the slightest observation of human nature, or a mere school-boy's acquaintance with history, would, one should have thought, have been sufficient to disperse. Of the expectation entertained by the letter-writer of a free constitution at the hands of Buonaparte, grounded upon these involuntary measures of that usurper, our readers have probably heard enough; they will be curious, however, to learn what was the character of this happy state of political freedom in the contemplation of this profound statesman, who considers our administration at home as composed of what he calls "mannikins," (vol. i. p. 221,) and talks with sweeping contempt of all the departments of government. The writer thus proceeds in Letter xi:

"But the continued determination of England to pursue this unjust object, and the frankness with which the Emperor has thrown himself into the arms of the people, has listened to their voice, and has identi-

fied their interests with his own, by the convocation of the chamber of representatives, has decided the part to be played by those whom we call the Jacobins—that is to say, four-fifths of the population of France, who are determined to stand the shock of nations, and to try the chances of liberty at least, in one great throw, in the person of Napoleon. Accordingly, although the cap of liberty is not hoisted, the eagle is held as its substitute—the imperial guard march to the Marseillaise; and it was remarked the other day to me at the Tuileries, that, for the first time since the early days of the republic, the troops passed in review to the tune of the once famous *ça ira*. Every engine is set to work—the theatre Montansier is now fitted up as a coffee-house—tables and chairs are placed in the pit, whilst the boxes and the lobbies are thrown into one—on the stage is a pedestal in the midst of a natural bower of green, upon which is placed the laurel-crowned bust of the Emperor." (Vol. i. p. 207, 208.)

And again:

"The songs at the Montansier are what we call of the most inflammatory nature; that is, they breathe an ardent spirit of liberty, and not only declare the right of France to be free, but the wish that other nations may profit by her example." (Vol. i. p. 208.)

Of the persons by whose agency this golden era of liberty was to be brought about this writer speaks in the same decided terms. He is resolved to think that those whom we now know as Carnot and Fouché, and others of the same stamp, are so transformed, as no longer to be remembered in their former characters. Never was candour surely carried so far as in the following observations.

"Of all the ministers appointed by Napoleon, I hear of only one who is not respectable for some quality; and with that exception, their appointment is such as would do credit to any court in Europe. Recollect always, that I am talking of the Carnots and Fouchés of 1815, not of those persons as they appeared in 1794. The Prince of Eckmuhl is looked upon in England as a monster, for the extremities to which he reduced Hamburgh; but those extremities were necessary for the defence of the town intrusted to his care, and, severe as they were, have not left the marshal without admirers, even in that devoted city, where his exact discipline and his disinterestedness were topics of praise, whilst the suburbs were by his orders destroyed. The marshal refused the purse presented as usual to the military governor of the city. (Vol. i. p. 245.)

Our present number is so engaged by other subjects, that we cannot afford to sacrifice a page to the vain purpose of answering such empty paradoxes. What first principles, what elements of morality, what intuitive truths may we not be summoned to defend, if, at the end of all that has been transacted in France for these twenty years past, we can be called upon to show that Carnot and Fouché, and Davoust, are not *very respectable men?* We could almost wish that, for the sake of the soundness of this anonymous

writer's intellect and feelings, he had passed a few days at Hamburgh, within the scope and influence of Davoust's *respectability*.

Among the discoveries which this impartial observer of human character has made of Napoleon's excellencies, we scarcely supposed it possible even for him to penetrate so deep into the recesses of his hero's mind as to discover, without any aid from craniology, that his thoughts were so strenuously turned towards religion as to excite a jealousy of his interference among the sacred orders of the church, who began to fear that Buonaparte would run away with all the credit of restoring genuine piety.

The letter-writer is very witty on this subject, and banters with his usual style of contemptuous sarcasm all those who would monopolize the glory of edifying mankind. In his opinion, Buonaparte, among his other great national works, has made an imperial road to heaven. As he treats with great contempt all those who consider the usurper's religious ordinances as "a mockery of God and man," we declare ourselves eager candidates for a share of this contempt, and beg to be classed among those whom the letter-writer designates as hypocrites; we aspire to hold the lowest place in the opinion of the eulogist of Carnot, Fouché, Davoust, and Buonaparte.

The second volume of this notable series of letters begins with a curious specimen of the correctness and soundness of the writer's views, and opinions, and reasoning. "Since the struggles of the Swiss and Dutch republics, the struggles of no people have given them such a claim to the admiration of an unprejudiced observer as those of the French:" and his wise reason for so thinking is this—that France, in fighting the battles of Buonaparte, is fighting for her independence. Having assumed that France is fighting for her independence, he concludes his letter with an irresistible *argumentum ad hominem*, which he seems to think must extinguish all controversy on the subject. Why else do we drink "*to the cause of liberty all over the world?*" If we had no other reasons for declining all regular disputation with this champion of French liberty, after such a challenge as this we must be bold indeed to enter the lists with him: we shall therefore allow him to say any thing he pleases; we consider him as a chartered person, privileged to call Bonaparte "a great man," the ministers assembled at the congress "ignorant and sanguinary men," Fouché a "merciful, moderate, and constitutional minister," the restoration of Louis by our arms, "a conduct which furnishes the blackest page in history." In a word, he is privileged to observe that the proper conduct of Louis, after his second occupation of the throne of his ancestors, would have been first to intercede with the foreigners; and, on their refusal to listen to him, "to have quitted Paris on a sud-

den, joined his army at Orleans, hoisted the tri-coloured standard, and called upon the national guards, and all the troops of his kingdom, to rise and put themselves in a position which might enable him to treat for peace on terms not dishonourable to their country and their king."

The letter-writer must forgive us if we frankly confess that, after the pleasure expressed by him in Letter xxiv. on the receipt of the news of the Emperor's "complete victory" over the English and Prussians, which suggests to him his famous argument from the "toast to liberty all over the world," we enjoyed his disappointment at hearing, "at the little town of St. Altin," the ominous "whisper," that "the Emperor had returned to Paris, and had abdicated." We cannot withhold from the reader the pathetic description which the letter-writer gives us of the feelings excited in his mind by the sad news of the victory of Waterloo.

"We spoke to the postmaster, and asked him if the Emperor had really been defeated; it will require some time to forget the air and accent with which he replied, *mais, oui—completement battu.* At Chalons sur Saone we read the Journal de l'Empire of the 22d. All was confirmed relative to the total defeat of the French army at Mont St. Jean. But we travelled all that night and the next day, and the following night, before we saw the paper of the 23d, at Sens, which indeed contained the *abdication of Napoleon*, in a declaration to the French people, dated the 22d of the month. I know not how you feel, but his expression, *ma vie politique est terminée*, cut me to the heart. I recalled him to my mind at the opening of his parliament, at the commencement of a new career so glorious, now so terminated; and in witnessing the close of such a life, felt the sensations which the great author of the Idler describes as attendant upon the contemplation of the *last* in any effort." (Vol. ii. p. 9.)

That, with these sentiments on French affairs, French liberty, and the French character, the letter-writer should speak in no gentle terms of the Prussian General Blucher we cannot be surprised. He is indeed scarcely considered as worthy of being mentioned, and when he is, the epithet "ferocious" or some such descriptive appendage, marks the estimation in which he is held. Now what must this writer think of us, when we distinctly declare that in the sentiments and correspondence of Prince Blucher, we recognise a plain, honest, and consistent principle of action, by which he is raised to an equality at least with the highest example which the war has afforded of the military character. His proclamation to his army after the great battle shall have a place in this article, that our journal may be among the number of those which have contributed to hand down a specimen of this simple honourable man to posterity.

"Brave officers and soldiers of the army of the Lower Rhine! you have done great things. Brave companions in arms! you have fought two battles in three days. The first was unfortunate, and yet your courage was not broken. You have had to struggle with privations, but you have borne them with fortitude. Immoveable in adverse fortune, after the loss of a bloody battle, you marched with firmness to fight another, relying on the God of battles, and full of confidence in your commanders, as well as of perseverance in your efforts against presumptuous and perjured enemies, intoxicated with their victory. It was with these sentiments you advanced to support the brave English, who were maintaining the most arduous contest with unparalleled firmness. But the hour which was to decide this great struggle has struck, and has shown who was to conquer and to reign in Europe; whether an adventurer, or governments who are the friends of order. The fate of the day was still undecided, when you appeared issuing from the forest, which concealed you from the enemy, to attack his rear with that coolness, that firmness, that confidence, which characterises experienced soldiers, resolved to avenge the reverses they had experienced two days before. There, rapid as lightning, you penetrated his already wavering columns: nothing could stop you in the career of victory. The enemy in his despair turned his artillery upon you; but you poured death into his ranks, and rushing upon him with resistless fury, you threw his battalions into confusion, scattered them in every direction, and put them to complete rout. The enemy found himself obliged to abandon to you several hundreds of cannon, and his army is dissolved. A few days will suffice to annihilate these perjured legions, who were coming to consummate the slavery and the spoliation of the universe. All great commanders have regarded it as impossible immediately to renew the combat with a beaten army; you have proved that this opinion is ill founded; you have proved, that resolute warriors may be vanquished, but that their valour is not shaken. Receive then my thanks, incomparable soldiers! Objects of all my esteem! You have acquired a great reputation. The annals of Europe will eternize your triumphs. It is on you, immoveable columns of the Prussian monarchy! that the destinies of the king and his august house will for ever repose. Never will Prussia cease to exist while your sons and your grandsons resemble you.

"BLUCHER."

Now we admire this document for the *very ingredient* in it which was probably in the opinion of our letter-writer an indication of Marshal Blucher's ferocity of disposition. We admire it for the plain and manly manner in which he calls men and things by their proper and authentic names. We venture to think that if the English and Prussians had, after the great victory, marched directly on Paris, and there levied a contribution to defray the whole expense of the war; that if the allies had taken from France all her strong towns on her

borders, and laid her frontiers open, so as completely to annihilate her mischievous power, according to the known wishes and proposals of the honest and valiant Prussian, the proper lesson would then have been given to that profligate and faithless nation, and the fatal consequences of an atheistical defection from all the ties which hold the societies of men together, would have been awfully blazoned in the face of the civilized world. The letter of the same great general in answer to Marshal Davoust's requisition of an armistice is another specimen of his "ferocity," which we regard with extreme complacency: it is a noble and singular exception to the cold-blooded prevailing fashion of treating successful villains, and indeed rogues in general, if their conduct has been sufficiently outrageous, with all the delicacies of respect and courtesy.

"*From my Head Quarters, July* 1, 1815.

"It is a mistake that all causes of war are removed between the Allied Powers and France, because Napoleon has abdicated the throne. He has done this only conditionally in favour of his son, and the resolution of the Allied Powers excludes from the throne, not only Napoleon, but all the members of his family. If General Frimont has thought himself authorised to conclude an armistice with the general opposed to him, that is no reason for us to do the same. We follow up our victory, and God has given us the means and the will to do so. Do you, Marshal, take care what you do, and do not again plunge a city in ruin: for you know what an enraged soldiery would allow themselves if your capital were taken by storm. Do you wish to bring down upon yourself the curses of Paris, as you have those of Hamburgh. We are resolved to enter Paris, to protect the well-disposed against the pillage with which they are threatened by the mob. No secure armistice can be concluded except at Paris. You, Marshal, surely will not misconceive our situation with respect to your nation. For the rest, Marshal, I must observe, that if you wish to negotiate with us, it is strange that you should detain, contrary to the law of nations, our officers who are sent with letters and packets.

"*According to the usual forms of established civility,*

"I have the honour to call myself,

"Mr. Marshal,

"Your servant,

"BLUCHER."

Such was the stile of the proclamations and letters of the "ferocious" Blucher. We will now produce extracts from three of the letters written to the National Convention by the "merciful and moderate Fouché." The first is from Lyons, whither he had been sent by the Convention to punish that rebellious city,

and where those who were merely suspected of *incivism* were sacrificed by hundreds.

"We listen only to the voice of the nation, which demands that the blood of the citizens which the rebels have spilled should be revenged at at once in the most summary and dreadful manner. We are convinced that this infamous city contains not one innocent person; we are therefore steeled against the tears of repentance, and nothing shall or can disarm the terrors of our severity. We will respect your decree for the annihilation of the city of Lyons. Little has yet been done to execute it. The ordinary mode of destruction is too slow. Republican impatience demands more speedy and effectual measures. The explosion of a mine, and the devouring activity of fire, can alone express the omnipotence of the people."

From Toulon he writes thus: "Let us show ourselves terrible; let us annihilate in our anger, and at one single blow, every conspirator, every traitor;" and in the postscript he adds, "We have but one way of celebrating our victory; we shall send two hundred and thirteen this evening to the place of execution; our loaded cannon are ready to salute them."

Again, from La Vendée the language of this "merciful and moderate" man is as follows:

"The day before yesterday I had the happiness to see eight hundred dwellings of the brigands destroyed by fire; to-day I have witnessed the shooting of nine hundred of these brigands; [in our last number it may be seen what sort of persons these brigands were,] and for to-morrow I have prepared a civic baptism (drowning) of one thousand two hundred women and children, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or sons of the accursed brigands from La Vendée. In two days three impure generations of rebels and fanatics have ceased to be any more."

After this our readers will choose between the "ferocious" Blucher and the "merciful and moderate" Duke of Otranto. But the letter-writer declares his contempt for all those who are not satisfied that the "sanguinary anarchical jacobin" of 1793 is changed into the "merciful, moderate, and constitutional, minister of 1815." We should be glad to know how this conversion has been wrought. The letter-writer will surely not allow that religion can have had any share in it; that would be a supposition fit only to be entertained by such *canting fellows as ourselves*, and those whom in these letters are with great pregnancy of sarcasm stiled "religious persons." We have heard the change of character in the Duke of Otranto ascribed to his expulsion from the Convention soon after the execution of Robespierre; a rebuke from so pure and upright a body being considered as falling with insupportable weight upon a mind of such delicate sensibilities. We escape all this embarrassment about the *cause* by totally dis-

believing the *consequence*, being of opinion that this chartered criminal is in principle just what he was, except that his activity in crime has in some measure been sobered into the milder character of treachery and hypocrisy. Even while the letter-writer is, in his thirty-sixth epistle, bestowing his eulogy upon the good Duke of Otranto, facts of a contradictory nature are developing themselves, and a confession is made in a note, (vol. i. p. 190,) which shows how little appearances are to be trusted.

"Since writing this, I have been assured, from a quarter to which I cannot but pay every deference, that Fouché was in correspondence with the king when at Ghent, and that the proscription list was *arranged between him and Talleyrand so early as April.* I cannot, however, the less refuse to record what was my impression when at Paris, nor on what arguments I founded it—neither shall I declare that impression to be removed."

But we have already much exceeded the limit we proposed to ourselves in entering upon this article. To a right-minded man nothing is necessary but the reading of a few pages to settle his opinion of the performance; and we fear the party, alas, too numerous! of political fops in this country, democratical devotees to the despot, who would *be* any thing rather than respectful to mild authority, and *do* any thing rather than live after the model of their ancestors, will not read what is opposed to their conceit of themselves. We gladly therefore take our leave of these letters, in charity with the author, whoever he may be; but having assumed the chair of authority, we feel ourselves in duty bound to pronounce a sentence upon the anonymous offender, which those of our readers who may have perused these disgusting letters will not deem too severe; it is this:—to leave, if he have not yet left, the Babylon in which he has been passing his time, and as he departs out of the city, to shake the dust from his feet; to part with his snuff-box and picture of Buonaparte, his French acquaintance, his French books, and, if possible, the very French language itself; to study the Bible, unlearn his philosophy; and, above all, to trust himself no more abroad until the *nova canities* shall have begun to blossom on his temples: he is to live, in short, for the next ten years to come in his own country, be graduated in the old academy of politics and morals, and be dieted on roast beef, plum pudding, and porter.

Art. XXII.—*Fare Thee Well, a Poem: A Sketch, a Poem.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. London, 1816. Sherwood and Co.

What, then, is it really published? No, says the author; no, says his bookseller, we have neither of us authorised the publication. Who then originally gave it vent? Who then permitted it to taint the air through the channel of the public newspapers? Can we trace the escape of the mephitic gas to any other source than to the original manufacturer and vendor?

The medium through which these productions first found their way to us was one which, with excellent sense and manly expression, described them as an Englishman ought to feel them; we mean the "Champion" of Mr. Scott. What can we do with the publication? Such is the state of society, so much there is at this moment infused into the English character, (thanks to some other lords and other writers besides Lord Byron,) which is not *English*, that every floating mischief, whether in the shape of letters from Paris, or melodies, or tales, is immediately funded, and turned into permanent stock. Shall we criticise these poems? surely there could not be a more idle waste of paper.

To argue against tenets and opinions like some of those which it has been our misfortune to have to deal with in our present number, would be to give this nation credit for no progress during these last two centuries in the sentiment or practice of morality. No man now thinks it necessary to establish by argument the being of a God, or to disprove the existence of the mythological deities, or to show that private vices are not public virtues; neither can it be necessary or expedient in this age of the world, especially in this country, which owes all its public strength to its social virtues, to enter formally into controversy with a set of men who, by means of a sort of sentimental sophistry, and a new species of poetical licence, are bespeaking a degree of toleration and indulgence towards moral mischiefs which, when seen as they are in their genuine shape, make us tremble for our existence, or, at least, for all that makes existence valuable. The production now before us, called "Fare Thee Well," is a phenomenon in the gloomy-gay world, which we now behold for the first time. A man, not a German, or Frenchman, or Italian, but an *Englishman*, first placing himself in that situation which in virtuous society, and in reverence to youth and innocence is couched in allusions that adumbrate its deformity; which the friends of the party, even the least scrupulous, suppress in decent silence; and then separating himself from his circumstances, and with a poet's eye selecting

from among them whatever seemed most suitable to descriptive effect, and richest in the pathos of suffering virtue.

As an appeal to the public, for if these poems were handed about without reserve the appeal was surely made to the public, we think we may safely leave them to the tribunal of public feeling; for although the present moment is characterised by attempts to lower the tone of morals to the practical atheism of the French, virtue has still hold enough on British minds to maintain the ancient boundaries and distinctions of moral action. We will present to our readers the first of these poems:

"FARE THEE WELL!

" Fare thee well! and if for ever,
Still for ever fare thee well!
E'en though unforgiving, never
'Gainst thee shall my heart rebel.

Would that breast were bared before thee,
Where thy head so oft hath lain,
While that placid sleep came o'er thee,
Which thou ne'er can'st know again:

Would that breast by thee glanced over,
Every inmost thought could show;
Then thou would'st at last discover
'Twas not well to spurn it so.

Though the world for this commend thee,
Though it smile upon the blow;
E'en its praises must offend thee,
Founded on another's woe.

Though my many faults defaced me,
Could no other arm be found
Than the one which once embraced me,
To inflict a cureless wound?

Yet, oh, yet, thyself deceive not,
Love may sink by low decay;
But by sudden wrench, believe not,
Hearts can thus be torn away.

Still thine own its life retaineth,
Still must mine, though bleeding, beat;
And the undying thought which paineth,
Is, that we no more may meet.

These are words of deeper sorrow
Than the wail above the dead;
Both shall live; but ev'ry morrow
Wake us from a widowed bed.

And when thou would'st solace gather,
  When our child's first accents flow,
Wilt thou teach her to say, 'Father,'
  Though his care she must forego?

When her little hands shall press thee;
  When her lip to thine is prest:
Think of him whose prayer shall bless thee,
  Think of him thy love had bless'd.

Should her lineaments resemble
  Those thou never more may'st see;
Then thy heart will softly tremble
  With a pulse yet true to me.

All my faults perchance thou knowest,
  All my madness none can know;
All my hopes, where'er thou goest,
  Whither—yet with thee they go.

Every feeling hath been shaken,
  Pride, which not a world could bow,
Bows to thee—by thee forsaken,
  E'en my soul forsakes me now.

But 'tis done, all words are idle,
  Words from me are vainer still;
But the thoughts we cannot bridle,
  Force their way without the will.

Fare thee well! thus disunited,
  Torn from every nearer tie;
Sear'd in heart, and lone, and blighted,
  More than this I scarce can die.

We have not room for the other poem; and had we room we should think that room very ill bestowed in presenting to our readers that bitter concentration of rhyming vengeance which is called by the poet "A Sketch from private Life." The bard appears to be exasperated to madness against some devoted female bearing the character of maid, nurse, or governess, on whom he pours forth such a torrent of spleen as seems to flow rather from Acheron than Helicon, for her baseness in insinuating some story to the writer's prejudice, as it would seem, into the ear of her mistress, which of course could *not be true*, or it never could have called down such an extremity of chastisement. We are left to guess at the person and the offence against whom and which this magnanimous satire is directed: though some we suppose will make a very shrewd guess, never did obscurity of allusion inspire *us* with less inquisitiveness. It is obvious, however, that the poet is in this dilemma;—either the object of his bitter invective is what she is described, a person "born in the garret, in the kitchen bred," and then she is protected by her want of breeding and education from the touch of a satirical poem; or she is amenable

to a poet's vengeance, and must accordingly be a person possessing wit to understand his language, and not the crawling reptile into which the virulence of the poet has transformed her. We may further observe, that the poet considers himself a highly privileged person amongst us ordinary beings; he prescribes rules to those he has injured, from which he is himself to be considered as exempt. Where he wounds, the sufferer is to forgive; but if a friend or domestic opens her lips to reveal or deplore the wrong, her crime is at once put out of the law of charity and the reach of pardon. The doctrine is this,—the errors of the man of sentiment are entitled to forgiveness, but the door of mercy is to be shut against the impertinent whisper of officious fidelity. We shall now leave the reader of these poems to himself, only desiring him while he reads them, not to forget that he is an *Englishman*, and the cherished sense of domestic virtue which that name should comprise.

Art. XXIII.—THE BAPTISMAL CONTROVERSY.

1. *Two Tracts, intended to convey correct Notions of Regeneration and Conversion, according to the Sense of Holy Scripture, and of the Church of England. Extracted from the Bampton Lecture of* 1812, *and published in a Form adapted for Circulation among the Community at large, at the request of the Salop District Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.* By Richard Mant, M.A. Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. A New Edition. 12mo. pp. 96. London, 1815. Rivingtons.

2. *An Inquiry into the Effects of Baptism, according to the Sense of Holy Scripture, and of the Church of England; in answer to the Rev. Dr. Mant's Two Tracts on Regeneration and Conversion; circulated with the last annual Packet of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* By the Rev. John Scott, M.A. Vicar of North Ferriby, &c. 8vo. pp. 270. London, 1815. L. B. Seeley.

3. *Baptism, a Seal of the Christian Covenant; or, Remarks on the former of Two Tracts intended to convey correct Notions of Regeneration and Conversion, according to the Sense of Holy Scripture, and of the Church of England, by Richard Mant, M.A. Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.* By Thomas T.

Biddulph, A.M. Minister of St. James's, Bristol, &c. 8vo. pp. 256. London, 1816. Hatchard.

4. *Spiritual Regeneration, not necessarily connected with Baptism. In Answer to a Tract upon Regeneration, published by the Rev. Dr. Mant, and circulated by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; in which are examined the Doctrines of the Church of England upon the above Subject; and the Clergy of the Established Church justified in preaching the Doctrine of Regeneration to Persons who have been baptised.* By George Bugg, A.B. 12mo. pp. 172. London, 1816. L. B. Seeley.

5. *Conciliatory Suggestions on the Subject of Regeneration, founded upon a recent Occurrence.* By J. W. Cunningham, M.A. Vicar of Harrow on the Hill, &c. 8vo. pp. 32. London, 1816. Hatchard.

6. *A Respectful Address to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, the Right Reverend the Bishops, the Reverend the Clergy, and the other Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on certain Inconsistencies and Contradictions which have appeared of late in some of the Books and Tracts of that Society.* By a Member of the Society. 8vo. pp. 24. London, 1816. Hatchard.

7. *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge vindicated from the Charge of Inconsistency and Contradiction; in Answer to a recent Publication, intituled " A respectful Address to the Most Reverend the Archbishops," &c. &c.* By another Member of the Society. 8vo. pp. 34. London, 1816. Rivingtons.

It has ever been the great object of the enemies of Christianity to scatter in profusion the apples of discord, in order to divide, as much as possible, the ranks of its friends. The experiment has been in every age but too successful; and believing as we most firmly do the divine inspiration and eternal importance of that system, respecting which such various controversies have arisen, we cannot sufficiently lament the ill effects of these dissensions. We lay no claim to that exalted philosophical indifference which induces some of our high-mettled contemporaries to regard the distinctions of orthodox and heterodox, Socinian and Trinitarian, Christian and Deistical, as of no greater importance than a ceremonial dispute between the devotees of Juggernaut, or the priests of a South American horde. If Christianity be a divine revelation, and we of course intend to consider this as undisputed neutral ground, every discussion which affects the essentials of the system assumes an inexpressible degree of interest. We cannot therefore consent to dismiss with a few flippant remarks the controversy which has been lately agitated respecting " baptismal and spiritual regeneration," but shall endeavour to enter with sober

seriousness into its merits, even at the risk of being thought to encroach somewhat more on the province of the sacred order than becomes a corps of periodical reviewers.

It is well known that for many years, perhaps as long back as the Reformation, considerable differences of opinion have prevailed respecting the effects of Christian baptism amongst persons who were all unanimous in allowing its importance; but the proximate cause of this dispute having lately assumed so decided a shape, and having become the subject of such frequent discussion, was undoubtedly the Bampton Lectures of Mr. now Dr. Mant. Such a subject we allow was fitter for discussion before an university audience than before any other; and, therefore, whatever we may think of Dr. Mant's doctrine, we do not, without some grains of qualification, censure him for its introduction. We wish, indeed, most sincerely, both for the sake of the younger students and the public at large, that the discussion had been avoided; but thinking, as Dr. Mant of course did, that his views were of high importance to the Christian church, the university of Oxford was doubtless the arena in which their merits might be most appropriately tried. We certainly did not imagine that the discussion could do any practical good, but before so learned an auditory we trusted it might not do any great harm; and we confidently expected that Dr. Mant's statements would soon be forgotten in a spirit of general zeal for the great and common cause in which we ventured to hope all parties were agreed.

Having thus long ago balanced the account, and almost forgotten the circumstance, we shall not affect to conceal the astonishment, nay, the pain which we felt when, on opening our annual Bartlett's Buildings packet, we found this difficult and dangerous subject revived; and that not as a thesis for learned investigation, a subject for discussion amongst grave divines, but in the shape of a tract for distribution amongst the poor and illiterate members of the community. We cannot but express our humble opinion, that *even independently of the truth or falsehood of Dr. Mant's positions*, as expressed in this tract, the advisers of the society were not happy in urging its publication. Abstruse theological controversies cannot surely be the food with which our parochial clergy desire the less instructed members of their congregations to be nourished, whilst all the most important and most simple points of faith and morals lie open for discussion. We certainly acquit the society at large of *all* blame, because they knew not of the circumstance till it was too late to remedy it; and even to the more active members who voted for the publication we impute no censure but momentary unadvisedness, in sending to their press a tract which every person who knows any thing of the present state of religious controversies could not but anti-

cipate would give rise to the most unpleasant discussions. We are convinced that the act was that of the few and not of the many. In every society a limited number of individuals usually conduct the details of the institution; nor can it be expected that our bishops, and nobility, and parochial clergy, should be able to leave all their important avocations for the purpose of inspecting every tract that is about to issue from the society's press. The utmost that can be done is to remonstrate in case of a momentary indiscretion with a view of preventing it in future; and that the members of the society have not failed in this part of their duty, the numerous pamphlets which have been published on the occasion are sufficient proof. In our future remarks, therefore, we intend no disrespect to the society, considering as we do that the publication of the tract in question arose from an error in judgment in a few individuals, and has not been sanctioned by the voice of the society at large. We are all frail and fallible, and we deprecate the idea that an institution so excellent should suffer in the public opinion by one unfortunate act of their committee. Having thus stated our judgment on the subject, we will venture to say, and we say it with the most poignant grief, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, a society which we learned to love and venerate in our infancy, and which has since added so much to its claims upon our affection, has never, from the first moment of its formation, been in any instance so ill advised as in the publication of Dr. Mant's tract on the subject of Regeneration. This is strong language, but we speak deliberately. Even admitting that Dr. Mant's views were perfectly correct, the impropriety of publishing such a tract by such an institution would still we conceive be very great; for in the first place the line of argument, right or wrong, is wholly beyond the comprehension of the lower classes for whose use alone the Bartlett's Buildings tracts are designed; in the second, *whether understood or not,* it must we conceive, in either case, lead to much practical evil, especially among the lower orders of the community; in the third it is a waste of money which every conscientious subscriber doubtless intended for popularly useful and practical tracts, and not for nicer discussions in divinity which theological polemics only are qualified to enter into; in the fourth it must necessarily alienate the affections, and weaken the confidence, of a large number of the society's best friends and most zealous benefactors, whose opinions are well known to be of a different kind; in the fifth it has furnished a most powerful argument to the dissenters, and one of which they have begun already to take no trifling advantage; in the sixth it is alleged as a most suicidal stroke against the society's earlier and better productions on similar topics of investigation; and to add but one consideration more, it is notoriously a party work,

and *as such* should never have found a place amongst the publications of a society which ought to know of no minute distinctions among the conscientious adherents to Christianity and the established church.

We shall of course not discuss these arguments *seriatim*, especially as we think *most* of them will press with irresistible conviction on the mind of every reflecting and disinterested member of the institution, *whatever may be his peculiar views on the subject itself which Dr. Mant has obtruded on the notice of the public.* The charge of inconsistency with the society's former publications we shall notice hereafter; the only one which requires investigation at present is the second, which we proceed to establish. Our position was that the tract, whether understood or not, is calculated to produce much practical evil especially among the lower orders of the community. Let us imagine the common case of a manufacturing town or village immersed in profligacy, and in that general brutality of character which is the inseparable consequence of vice; destitute of moral sensibility, dead to religion, and differing from avowed infidels in nothing except a nominal unmeaning recognition of the Christian Revelation. A zealous and faithful clergyman presides over them, whose first and dearest object is to effect, by the divine blessing, an universal renovation of character amongst his flock. He exerts himself to convince them that their habits are inconsistent with the hopes of a blissful futurity; that they need a complete transformation of character; that not only must their exterior deportment be reformed, but that the internal dispositions from which it sprang must be eradicated; that their *hearts* must be changed before their conduct will be duly amended; that their reformation must not be partial or insincere, but that the very fountains of thought and feeling and action must be purified, in order that the "acceptable fruits of righteousness" may appear in the conduct. To impress duly upon his hearers the radical and extensive nature of this moral change, he perhaps characterizes it by the scriptural expressions "regeneration," a "new-birth," and uses the pointed language of Divinity itself that "except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." In all this there is evidently nothing unscriptural or irrational. Even admitting with Dr. Mant that the peculiar terms thus used in inculcating the necessity of *some* great change of heart and conduct before such persons can be "meet for the inheritance amongst the saints in light" were originally intended to be expressive of nothing more than the effects of Baptism, still we see not what great practical evil could arise from their present application. Allowing the language in question not to be quite so technical or correct as that which Dr. Mant would substitute in its place, still it must be acknowledged sufficiently

intelligible and expressive. For popular use it would not be easy to find one more striking. We ourselves should certainly have employed Dr. Mant's own word *Conversion*, on account of its being less liable to controversy, but we by no means discover with him the alarming impropriety of the other. His objection would possibly be equally strong against the admission of other scriptural synonymes, such as "be ye transformed in the spirit of your minds;" for what is the transformation of the very spirit of a person's mind but a metaphorical "new-birth." If Dr. Mant allow that, in the case we have imagined of a profligate parish, it is the duty of a minister to inculcate the necessity of an important change of heart and character amongst his parishioners, we cannot see why he should so vehemently object to the strongest terms by which that new principle may be expressed. If he dislike the thing itself more than the idioms by which it is sometimes designated, our controversy with him must assume a very different complexion. At present we are simply inquiring why, on the allowed supposition of a great mental change being necessary, he should so greatly reprobate the peculiar expression by which the idea of that renovation is sometimes conveyed. We ourselves possibly carry our views of the necessity of this change much farther than Dr. Mant, but in order to prevent unnecessary preliminaries have supposed an urgent case; for amongst adult profligates, such as we have imagined, even our author will not dispute the necessity of *a change of heart*. The dispute hitherto is not respecting things but words. We assume that our author is as anxious as ourselves that Christianity should not be a dead letter, should not *rest* in baptism, but should produce the most energetic and salutary effects on the human soul, should "convert the heart," and that consequently his only cause of anxiety is lest what is allowed to be essentially requisite should be expressed in terms not strictly appropriate to the occasion.

Thus then we think ourselves prepared to confirm the point on which the present line of argument was intended to bear, namely, the great inexpediency of the present publication, and the practical evils to which it is calculated to give rise. We have described a parish which obviously called for the most zealous exertions of a wise Christian pastor; we have supposed such a pastor beginning with the root of the evil, the heart, and inculcating not merely a reform, but a moral change of soul which he sometimes denominates, whether correctly or not is not at present the question, a regeneration or new birth. Now what must be the natural, the legitimate effect of a few score of Dr. Mant's pamphlets being circulated in such a parish? Why obviously the undoing, as far as possible, all that had been done. An argument would be immediately furnished to every profligate person in the parish against

the preaching of his minister, the safety of his own soul, and the eternal welfare of his neighbour. An obvious question of debate in every resort of licentiousness would be, why should our minister disturb our repose, with inculcating the unpleasant duty of what he calls regeneration, when we are all regenerate already? Dr. Mant has learnedly proved us to be genuine Christians, notwithstanding those blemishes of character which our minister affects to consider of such vast importance. "Let us eat drink and be merry," for spiritual regeneration into the family of God is a character which we received at our Baptism, and which can never be repeated; for, as Dr. Mant remarks, "no other than baptismal regeneration is possible in this world."

We do not imagine that any of our readers will do us the injustice to suppose for a moment, that we mean to insinuate that Dr. Mant would sanction an argument of this kind; far, very far from it. He would naturally reply that, in the case which we have supposed, he was misunderstood and misrepresented; for that, although he denied the necessity of *regeneration* or a *new birth* to a baptized person, he did not deny the necessity of repentance and conversion, at least where the conduct had been flagitiously incorrect. He might object that the supposed evils arose not from his pamphlet, but from the previous conduct of the minister who had incorrectly employed the term which it was his object to explain. Even on this vantage ground we are content to meet him; for if, as is notoriously the fact, the terms regeneration, new birth, and others of similar import, have been habitually used, however incorrectly, by no small numbers of the best divines ever since the reformation, to designate that change of heart and conduct which even Dr. Mant will allow to be *in many cases* necessary; it cannot but follow that his pamphlet *must* be misunderstood by those of the community who have attached to the word regeneration the idea of repentance and faith, and amendment of heart and life; and being thus misunderstood, it must inevitably lead to the conclusion, that because the necessity of regeneration after baptism is denied, the necessity of those things is denied which are usually, though, as Dr. Mant thinks, incorrectly, included under the term; or in other words, that because a baptized person, who is a robber, or adulterer, or murderer, is nevertheless a regenerate character, and born again of the Spirit of God, little further is necessary to secure his eternal repose. Dr. Mant we know would be the first to disclaim this or any other inference hostile to Christian holiness, and we again assert that we are far from intending to impute any thing of the kind to him; but we seriously think that such an inference would necessarily be derived by no small number of his readers, unless he could teach the illiterate members of the community,

which we conceive impossible, to enter fully into his distinction between regeneration and conversion, and thus to understand that, though they are already in possession of the one, they must become partakers of the other in order to their final salvation. But unhappily, the persons for whom gratuitous tracts are designed are not able to enter into the minuter divisions of a subject: the general *primâ facie* bearing is all that they can discover. It appears therefore highly inexpedient to circulate amongst them publications which they are not likely to understand, but which, whether understood or not, they may so easily pervert. Of this class we consider our author's tract on Baptism and Conversion. It comes in the shape of an anodyne to those who most require a stimulant. Dr. Mant will allow that the person whom he considers a bad man needs a renovation; but instead of exerting his great talents to convince him of this important and essential point, he puts into his hand a pamphlet to show,—not expressly that such a renovation is necessary, which we conceive ought to have been his chief object,—but that certain teachers, regularly ordained clergymen of the Church of England, insist upon that necessity in terms very inappropriate to the occasion. What moral or religious utility could our author propose to himself by such a publication? Allowing it to be correct, it is still inexpedient. Indeed, as we before observed, it is obviously a party work; not designed to impress upon the lower orders the necessity of personal religion, but to warn them against those of their legally appointed teachers who speak of the importance of the subject in less measured terms than Dr. Mant is inclined to allow. How far any individual of the Bartlett's Buildings committee was justified in moving that the sacred funds of religious charity should be expended upon such a tract, we are not disposed to inquire. We think, however, that we can report with tolerable accuracy the opinion of every well-informed and candid member of the institution. "Had Dr. Mant disseminated his Bampton Lectures *amongst his brethren*, and affectionately warned them against what he conceived, however unjustly, an improper method of employing the important terms regeneration and the new-birth in their pulpit compositions, even those could not have blamed his conduct who most disliked the cause in which he was embarked. This would have been beginning at the right end; instructing the teachers that they might instruct their pupils. But when instead of a *concio ad clerum*, he prejudges the cause in a duodecimo tract for circulation among illiterate and irreligious members of the community, who could not by any possibility be rendered the better for it, and might by the most easy of all perversions be rendered infinitely worse, it is surely candour to say no more than that the publication was highly inexpedient." We appeal to

Dr. Mant as a man of moral and religious feeling, and ask what benefit can he possibly expect by pressing so earnestly upon the attention of a drunkard for instance, or blasphemer, or debauchee, that because he has been baptized he is fully in possession of "spiritual regeneration," a "supernatural grace," a new principle of life and action, of that "sanctification" of the Spirit which "makes us heirs of salvation," and "entitles us to eternal life;" in a word that "no other than baptismal regeneration is possible in this world."

Hitherto our readers will have remarked that we have been reasoning solely on the ground that to promulge such doctrine is inexpedient; but we come now to a far more important question, is the doctrine itself true? Are the abovementioned profligates really in possession of the blessings which Dr. Mant so confidently bestows upon them. The regeneration or adoption into the family of God, for which our author contends, is avowedly compatible with every vicious inclination of heart, and every immorality of life: how far, however, this is from the character of that exalted principle, without which our Saviour informed Nicodemus no man can see the kingdom of God, must be the subject of further inquiry.

In every controversy, the definition of terms is a necessary pre-requisite. Several of the authors at the head of this article complain of Dr. Mant's want of precision in the use of the term regeneration, and we think not without sufficient reason. Mr. Biddulph remarks that in Dr. Mant's pages it is sometimes simply "an inward spiritual grace," whilst in others external privilege is combined with his description of it. Sometimes, adds Mr. Biddulph, it is forgiveness of sins, or justification; at others it is the grace of the Holy Spirit in sanctification. Mr. Scott observes that it does not appear from Dr. Mant's pages whether he considers baptism as regeneration itself, or whether it "conveys" regeneration, or whether it is only "attended by" regeneration, each of which has had its abettors, and each of which might successively claim the support of Dr. Mant's authority.

This want of accuracy in definition, not particularly in Dr. Mant, but in many of the warmer partizans on either side, is stated by the author of the "Conciliatory Suggestions" as the chief cause of the present unhappy disputation. In order therefore to reconcile contending parties, Mr. Cunningham proposes that each should use the term regeneration in his own sense, with an understanding that it may also be correctly used in that of his opponent. He contends that the blessings, whatever they be, which belong to baptism, may very properly and scripturally be called regeneration; but that the same term may likewise be applied with at least equal correctness as a synonyme for that

renovation of heart which Dr. Mant denominates exclusively *conversion*. Mr. Cunningham therefore proposes that the distinction which Bishop Bradford and others employ, of baptismal regeneration and spiritual regeneration, be preserved; that when it is asserted that a person is baptismally regenerate, it may be meant only that he has obtained the blessings, *whatever they be*, which are connected with baptism, and nothing more; but that when it is said that he is spiritually regenerate, it may be further implied that he is really giving evidence of "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness;" and of that conversion of heart which Dr. Mant himself will not deny to be necessary to salvation.

These "conciliatory suggestions," it will be obvious, apply solely to those who differ respecting words, and not things. This class is, however, far from including the whole of the hostile champions. Amidst a great variety of shades of demarcation, there appear to be at least *three* very distinct opinions on the subject:—First, the idea of those who think that baptism is merely a sign of admission into the visible Christian church, or the outward dedication of a child by its parents, or of an adult by his own act, to the service of Almighty God. The second is the opinion of those who think that baptism is not only a sign of admission into the visible church, and all that has been admitted by the first class; but further, that by partaking of it the recipient is put into a more salvable state than before, or brought, as Mr. Cunningham expresses it, "more peculiarly within the sphere of the divine bounty and grace; that he is placed more especially under the influences of the Holy Spirit; that all the blessings of the Christian covenant are solemnly pledged and sealed to him if hereafter he shall repent and believe the Gospel."* The third opinion, which seems to be that

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* As we are at present simply reporting opinions without commenting upon them, we restrain several remarks which occur to us respecting Mr. Cunningham's statement. The last clause, however, we feel bound to notice as very unsatisfactory; for are not the "blessings of the Christian covenant solemnly pledged" to *all* men upon their repentance and faith, whether they have been *previously* baptized or not? Witness the Philippian Jailor. Mr. Cunningham's statement would go to prove that a person must be baptized *before* the Gospel ought to be preached to him; for if the Gospel may be preached to all men indiscriminately, and pardon solemnly promised, even to a heathen on his repentance and faith, (which repentance and faith will of course immediately lead him to submit to the enjoined sacrament of baptism,) what is the *peculiar*, the *exclusive* privilege which is intended to be described in the last clause of Mr. Cunningham's sentence? Besides, repentance and belief of the Gospel ought to be viewed, at least abstractedly, as preliminaries for baptism, and not as what may or may not follow after. Our church considers them as things "to be required of a person to be baptized," and even in the case of infants does not change the ground of admission. We shall revert to the subject when we come to consider the language of our Church in her offices.

of Dr. Mant, is, that not only is the condition of the baptized person greatly improved in reference to his relation to his Creator; but that he is really in every case made possessor of a new nature, has a new heart given him, is born again, is endued with holy and heavenly affections; which, however, he may, and usually does, lose in after life, so as to need a renewal or conversion, but not a regeneration, to bring him back to the baptismal state. We are not aware that we have stated the case in stronger terms than Dr. Mant would himself allow; though, as we before remarked, there is by no means such precision or consistency in his statements as would enable his reader at all times to collect a very clear idea of his intention.

Of these three classes, the first and last differ irreconcileably in their application of the terms under consideration. The one asserts that the high privileges of regeneration, being born again, adopted into the family of God, &c., have no connexion whatever with baptism, but solely with that spiritual change of heart which Dr. Mant prefers describing by the title of conversion. The other, on the contrary, contends that to use such terms as regeneration in reference to repentance and renovation is highly improper and unscriptural; that they are intended to indicate simply and exclusively that change of *nature* and of *condition* which, they say, necessarily accompanies the due administration of Christian baptism. The one asserts that *no* person was ever regenerated by being baptized, the other that no person was ever baptized without being regenerated; the one that the two things have no connexion whatever, the other that it is impossible for them to be in any instance disunited. It should be remarked that each of these parties employs the terms regeneration, &c. in their highest theological sense, as expressing a change of nature as well as condition; there is therefore no convenient ambiguity of expression which may tend to a compromise. They predicate of the same thing with a determined categorical negative or affirmative. Their propositions are not only contrary but contradictory, so that the one cannot possibly be true without the other being necessarily false.

The second or intermediate class is of a character less strongly marked, and it is for persons of this kind chiefly that Mr. Cunningham seems to have opened his half-way house, inviting them to meet and reconcile their differences. He contends that the individuals of this class, all equally believing, as they do, that baptism admits us into a new and highly beneficial relation to our Creator, and Redeemer, and Sanctifier, may all conscientiously employ the same language in designating its effects. They agree also, in distinction from the third class, in maintaining that baptism is by no means necessarily connected with that im-

portant change of heart and character, without which all parties allow that no man can see the kingdom of God. Their difference Mr. Cunningham therefore considers as merely verbal, the one party contending that the term regeneration should be applied exclusively to that subordinate blessing which they all equally acknowledge as the fruit of baptism; the other that it ought to be as exclusively applied to designate that higher moral change which is admitted to be necessary to final salvation. To the one he argues that the new relation conveyed in baptism, though not regeneration *in the highest sense of the word*, may yet in a subordinate way be appropriately and scripturally characterized by that term; and therefore proposes that each party peaceably adopt the language of their neighbours respecting baptism, still reserving the full right of equally applying the litigated terms in their higher spiritual sense to designate that melioration of heart, without which baptismal or other external privileges are of little avail. To the other party he urges that if their friends thus agree to call the effects of baptism, whatever they be, by the term regeneration, they ought on their part to stipulate to call the subsequent change of heart in conversion by the same term; and, to prevent confusion, that each party should designate their meaning by using the epithets of *baptismal* and *spiritual* regeneration.

As we doubt not *many* of the members of the Christian Knowledge Society attach much the same effect to baptism, however they may have learned to differ respecting words, we conceive with Mr. Cunningham that, *in these cases*, Bishop Bradford's distinction may afford neutral ground on which to discuss the subject. Several of our authors, and particularly Mr. Biddulph, allow that in this lower ecclesiastical sense the term regeneration may be permitted to be applied to the effects of baptism, and it is on this principle that many divines have explained the strong language which has been retained in some of the formularies of our own church. In this instance, as indeed in the whole of the *subordinate* parts of the controversy, we shall claim our privilege as reviewers of fairly stating the opinions which come before us without specially promulging our own. Had the dispute been simply amongst those of the second class, who differ chiefly on the verbal parts of the subject, we should not have thought it necessary to interfere, and could have calmly passed by a few minor discussions without deviating from the noiseless tenor of our way to obtain a sight of the combatants. But the present disputation is of a different kind: it is not one half of the Bartlett's Buildings Society *versus* the other; but, as we humbly conceive, Dr. Mant, an individual champion, against almost the whole; and, what is still worse, against the evidence of Scripture,

and the formularies of his own church. As far as we have heard of the controversy, all parties must by this time be convinced that, whoever may be right, Dr. Mant is certainly wrong. There have been innumerable divines of eminence who acknowledge baptismal regeneration—Bishop Bradford did so; many of our reformers did so; a large part of our Bartlett's Buildings friends do so;—but certainly not in Dr. Mant's interpretation of the term as including a change of heart, a new principle of life and action infused into the soul. We conceive that the running title of Dr. Mant's pamphlet deceived many members of the society, and probably those who voted for the admission of the tract: "*Regeneration the Spiritual grace of Baptism*;" undoubtedly: what churchman ever denied it? Baptism is an outward visible *sign* of an inward and spiritual grace, which grace thus *signified* is regeneration; this is all sufficiently clear. The washing of the flesh *indicates* the necessity of purification of heart; the sprinkling with water *points out* the necessity of a higher baptism by the Divine Spirit. Here then is no dispute; but under this ambiguous title Dr. Mant contrives to couch a far less tenable position; namely, that the spiritual grace necessarily accompanies the outward sign, that no one was ever baptized without being born again, admitted by adoption into the family of God, and having his heart purified by the influences of the Holy Spirit: this is a conclusion for which the running title by no means prepares the reader. As far as external privilege extends, the effects of baptism are generally allowed; nor is it denied still further that, in some instances, the implantation of the highest heavenly graces *may* take place in the soul; but what proof, what shadow of proof is there that such an effect is universal and invariable; that it is absolutely inseparable from baptism; that *no* person, not even Simon Magus himself, was ever sprinkled with water in the name of the Holy Trinity by a legitimate minister, whose heart was not at that moment changed, and who did not bear from thenceforth the permanent, the indelible character of "a child of God," a regenerate person in the highest, because the only, sense of those emphatic terms? We have no idea of this irresistible momentary regeneration. Alas! we need but open our eyes upon the world around us, we need but consult the annals of the brothel or the scaffold, to learn a proof as convincing as it is awful of the fallacy of such questionable tenets. We were about to say that Dr. Mant's doctrine was novel: we trust it is so in the church of England, and in the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; but in another church, the church of Rome, and in another society, the society of the Propagandists, it is as old as many other corruptions of our holy faith.

As the question between Dr. Mant and the rest of the Protestant world is highly important, and matter of very grave discussion, we hope to be excused if we enter into some detail on the subject. In reference to the heads of Mr. Biddulph's sections, we shall undertake to show that the doctrine in question is contrary to Scripture, contrary to the tenets of the established church, and contrary to the accredited sentiments of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In discussing these points it will be our object to concentrate to a focus some of the chief arguments which have been brought to bear upon the question.

First then we appeal to that unerring volume which every protestant, and no one more than Dr. Mant, allows to be the only guide in matters of faith; in doing which we must request our readers to keep in view the precise point under discussion, which is not whether great external privileges accompany Christian baptism, for this is cheerfully allowed; nor even that more difficult question, whether the baptized person be not placed on a more favourable footing as respects his Creator; nor whether in certain instances the inward and spiritual grace, including the highest permanent change of heart, *may* not take place at the moment of baptism; but, simply and solely, whether this inward spiritual grace is necessarily, universally, inseparably connected with baptism; so that where baptism has taken place it cannot be absent, and where it has not taken place it cannot possibly exist. Not to admit this position, but to maintain otherwise, Dr. Mant designates by the very emphatic appellation of heresy.

Our church explicitly and scripturally mentions "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness," as the spiritual grace represented by baptism. This "death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness" is more concisely expressed by the term regeneration, which Dr. Mant very properly allows to be synonymous with the expressions "born of God,"—"born of the Spirit,"—"begotten," and others of corresponding import. The passage of Scripture on which he professes chiefly to ground his argument occurs in our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus; "Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The difficulties which present themselves to his explanation of this passage are insuperable:—In the first place there is no *proof* (though we allow it be probable) that our Saviour alluded in any way to Christian baptism, which was not instituted till long after. But permitting this to pass, how can Dr. Mant by any latitude of construction infer from these words that the baptism of the Spirit is *inseparably* connected with that of water? So far from it, the two are contra-dis-

tinguished, which would have been scarcely needful had they been incapable, "humanly speaking," of existing apart. Dr. Mant's idea is that every one that is born of water is invariably born of the Spirit, and that no one is born of the Spirit who is not born of water. Whether such an inference can be derived from our Lord's words, and these words are the strongest which Dr. Mant professes to bring forward, we leave every unprejudiced reader to determine. We only remark that, if our Saviour's words are correctly interpreted by Dr. Mant, our church was guilty of great negligence in stating no more than that baptism is "*generally* necessary;" for surely if Christ asserts that no one can enter the kingdom of God who is not born again, and no one can be born again but by baptism, this rite is not only generally, but absolutely and indispensably necessary; and even infants dying without it are for ever excluded from the kingdom of God. Compared with this doctrine, supralapsarianism itself is mildness, since the one leaves our destiny to an unerring God, whilst the other makes us dependant on the will or convenience of men, who may or may not administer the rite, according to their own caprice or inclination.

It is impossible within the limits of a Review to examine every text which Dr. Mant has brought forward in proof of his hypothesis. We can only assert in general terms, and after a very minute and impartial examination of all his scriptural references, that he has totally failed in proving from the Sacred Writings, that the spiritual grace always and invariably accompanies the outward form. For a critical examination of each individual text adduced by Dr. Mant, we refer our readers with confidence to the pages of Mr. Biddulph and Mr. Scott. It is not a little unfortunate for our author's hypothesis that, amidst an immense number of passages in the New Testament, in which the word regeneration and corresponding terms are employed, in one or two only is there any thing *like* a reference to the sacrament of baptism; and *no where* is it asserted, or even hinted, in speaking of the various baptisms recorded in Scripture, that the recipients became regenerated by their means.

In default of this direct scriptural evidence, Dr. Mant's usual mode of commenting on the sacred text is to select a passage, in which baptism and some spiritual grace happen to be mentioned together, and then to *assume* that they are therefore necessarily and exclusively connected. This line of argument we have just seen exemplified in his remarks on our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus; but it appears if possible more conspicuously in his gratuitous conclusion from St. Paul's language to the Corinthians, where the Apostle having described several awful varieties of infamous character, remarks, "And such were some of you; but

ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." Dr. Mant's comment upon this passage is, that the "washing of baptism is mentioned as the instrument by which the blessings of sanctification and justification are conveyed." *Is* it thus mentioned? We think our author will not venture to repeat the assertion. There *may* be an allusion to baptism; but even this is far from certain, as the metaphorical term "washed" occurs constantly in the Sacred Writings to indicate mental purification, in passages where Dr. Mant himself must allow that no reference to baptism was intended. But admitting that baptism *were* meant, what proof, what hint is there given that it is the instrument by which the other blessings of sanctification and justification are conveyed. So far from it, both justification and sanctification may, and in adult converts usually do, precede baptism. Justification we assert may; for we are "justified by faith," and faith existed in the primitive converts before baptism; for "Philip said, *if thou believest* with all thy heart thou mayest be baptized." Sanctification also may; for Dr. Mant allows that "conversion" may take place before baptism, and has himself so defined conversion, as to make the graces of holiness necessarily enter into its composition.

We proceed to further evidence. Dr. Mant argues that baptism is "the vehicle of regeneration, because it is the vehicle of salvation." But what if the inspired volume show that it is not *necessarily* the vehicle of either? "Of his own will begat he us, [not by baptism, but] with *the word of truth.*" Thus baptism is not necessarily the vehicle of the new birth; neither is it necessarily the vehicle of salvation; for it is expressly said, that "the Gospel [not the rite of baptism] is the power of God unto salvation." It is true there is *a* baptism which is said figuratively to save us; but this is expressly defined to be, "not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the stipulation of a good conscience towards God." St. Paul informs us that the instrument of our regeneration is not baptism, but faith: "Ye are the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." Various means are pointed out as used by the Almighty for our regeneration. Thus: "He hath *begotten us again* to a lively hope *by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.*" "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, *by the word of God*;" &c. but no where is it said that we are born again by baptism, which surely would have been explicitly and frequently mentioned had the doctrine itself been true.

We must still advert to another class of scriptural evidence. Keeping, therefore, in view our author's doctrine that no person can be baptized without becoming regenerate, and that no person

can be regenerate but by means of being baptized; or, in other words, that 'no other than baptismal regeneration is possible in this world," we proceed to point out New Testament examples in which, contrary to Dr. Mant's hypothesis, regeneration has taken place antecedently to baptism, and others in which baptism has been legitimately administered without its taking place at all.

Of the existence of regeneration previously to baptism, the thief upon the cross is an indubitable instance. The same divine personage who asserted, that "except a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of God," asserted also of the thief upon the cross, that he should be with him that day in Paradise. He was, therefore, born again; but surely Dr. Mant will not affirm that he was baptized; and if not, what becomes of the essential, the inseparable connexion between baptism and regeneration? Again, the three thousand converts allowedly believed in our Saviour before they were baptized; it was indeed that belief which prompted them to undergo that sacrament; but does not St. John teach, that "whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God?" The three thousand, therefore, were "born of God," that is, regenerated, before they were baptized. Again: "We are the children of God *by faith in Christ Jesus*;" but the Apostles uniformly required this faith as a preparative for baptism; spiritual adoption, therefore, into the family of God was in all these cases the precursor of this rite, and not its concomitant; and baptism was consequently nothing more on the part of God than a sign and seal visibly to ratify and confirm what had taken place before.

Dr. Mant's own example of St. Paul is, if possible, still more unfavourable to the doctrine which he wishes to establish. He allows that this Apostle was "converted," and that "his heart was renewed' three days before his baptism. If asked what he means by converted, he beautifully, and, *as far as he goes*, correctly, informs us that conversion is "a rational conviction of sin, and sense of its wretchedness and danger; of a sincere repentance and sorrow of heart at having incurred the displeasure of a holy God; of steadfast purposes of amendment with the blessing of the divine grace; of a regular and diligent employment of all the appointed means of grace; and of a real change of heart and life, of affections and conduct, and a resolute perseverance in well-doing." St. Paul, therefore, by our author's own statement, was all this for three days before baptism. Yet, adds Dr. Mant, he was not regenerated. What, we again ask, is regeneration? Is it, as our church very properly teaches, "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness?" If it be, as Dr. Mant will admit, surely it entered very conspicuously into such a character as our author has described; or will he affirm that St.

Paul, thus radically, thus miraculously changed, was still "dead in sin and a child of wrath," and that consequently, if he had died before baptism, he could not, by Dr. Mant's interpretation of our Lord's words, have entered the kingdom of God. We think that the utmost predilection for a system would not induce our author to hazard so untenable a proposition.

We might add many other scriptural proofs. Thus, "every one that loveth is born of God;" but "faith worketh by love," and faith may allowedly exist before baptism, therefore the "new birth" also may take place before that period. Thus again St. John remarks, that "every one that doeth righteousness is born of God; but Cornelius feared God and wrought righteousness" before he was baptized. We may observe, that this remark of St. John incidentally points out a far more important test than that of Dr. Mant for determining our regeneration. If we would know whether we are "born of God," we are instructed to ask the practical question, whether we work righteousness? Dr. Mant, to be consistent with himself, must think it quite enough to ascertain whether our names appear in the regular parish register of baptisms.

Thus it results that the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit may precede the rite of baptism. The converse of the proposition appears to be equally true; though, as Mr. Biddulph remarks, it is more difficult to prove such a negative, especially as Dr. Mant has this sweeping answer for every case like that of Simon Magus, that the individual has fallen from the grace communicated in baptism. The burden of proof ought, however, to rest with Dr. Mant, and not with his opponents; and a difficult case he must find it to show even a probability, that the thousands who are living 'without God in the world,' immersed in all that by their baptismal stipulations they were bound to renounce, were nevertheless *once* partakers of a new nature, &c. Indeed, in spite of all the customary quibbles on the subject, we consider one broadly marked case, such as that of Simon Magus, as quite decisive. He of whom the inspired apostle so soon affirmed that he had "no part nor lot in the matter," that his "heart was not right in the sight of God," that he was still "in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity,' could hardly, we conceive, have been the moment before a partaker, not only of those external privileges which are sometimes called baptismal regeneration, but of that spiritual change of soul, that "supernatural grace," that "new principle of life and action," that "sanctification of the Spirit," which "makes us heirs of salvation," which "entitles us to eternal life," and which we conceive Dr. Mant to say is inseparable from Christian baptism.

The apostles habitually predicate such things of regeneration

as by no means necessarily follow the rite in question. Thus, "whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world;" how far this is the character of that large class of baptized persons who are its willing slaves and subjects, we leave our readers to determine. "If to be baptized," Mr. Biddulph observes, "and to be born of God, be inseparable; if the one imply the other; then that which is predicable of all who are regenerate is predicable of all who have been baptized." Will Dr. Mant's doctrine bear this test? For example: "Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ has been baptized." "Every one that is baptized overcometh the world." "Every one that doeth righteousness has been baptized." The fallacy is evident at the first glance.

Yet in spite of facts, in spite of St. Peter's assertion respecting Simon Magus that he had no part nor lot in the matter, namely, as Bishop Bradford explains it, in the gift of the Holy Spirit, we are to believe, on Dr. Mant's authority, that Simon Magus was truly regenerate because he was baptized, and that any further regeneration in this world was 'not necessary or even possible.' Surely this is not the *practical* religion which our Lord came upon earth to establish! Every prudent friend to morality must hesitate to admit such dangerous conclusions.

Mr. Scott produces an argument from the example of Quakers and other dissenters, whose children uniformly grow up without baptism, and infers that if Dr. Mant's doctrine be true, that baptism invariably makes so "great and wonderful a change" in all its recipients, that they are "immediately translated from the curse of Adam to the grace of Christ—become reconciled to God, partakers of the Holy Ghost, and heirs of eternal happiness, acquire a new name, a new hope, a new faith, a new rule of life;" nay more, "a new nature, a new state of existence," a "new principle," a "supernatural grace;" some striking practical differences of character could not fail to be visible between the mass of those who have been thus regenerated and those who have not. But is this difference in reality to be found? Is there in general any thing in the conduct of either party which may indicate whether they have or have not been baptized. Are we allowed, amongst a company of persons all alike thoughtless and uninformed, to predicate that some are "children of wrath," and others "children of grace," merely by a reference to the parish register? Is this doctrine, Mr. Scott asks, agreeable to the maxim, that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, neither uncircumcision, but a new creature," but "faith which worketh by love?" This language respecting the one sacrament intimately resembles, Mr. Scott thinks, the papistical doctrine respecting the other;

for as transubstantiation, he argues, requires us to believe, contrary to our senses, so this hypothesis concerning the "great and wonderful change" invariably produced in the very nature of those who are baptized is equally inconsistent with every-day experience. Examine, he says, two pieces of wafer; the one consecrated, the other not; you perceive no difference, yet you are required to believe that the one is bread, the other flesh and blood: so in a similar manner select two persons, the one baptized, the other not; you discover no difference in their knowledge, their spirit, their motives, their conduct; yet you are to believe the one "transferred from the curse of Adam to the grace of Christ"—"reconciled to God"—partaker of "a new nature," because you are told he has been baptized; the other is the reverse of all this, because he remains unbaptized.

The scriptural, and we may add, the rational, the Protestant doctrine of baptism, appears to us exceedingly well defined in Mr. Biddulph's remarks, page 27—30. The passage is too long for citation, but we think every churchman who has not yielded his faith to Dr. Mant's hypothesis will willingly acquiesce in his opinion.

Were baptism the only and the certain means of spiritual regeneration, we might have expected to find the doctrine explicitly and frequently laid down in the writings of the evangelists and apostles. They would often doubtless have designated their converts by this important characteristic. Yet though Christians are frequently spoken of as "the children of God," &c. they are never once characterized as the baptized; and even he who recorded our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus, and who wrote an epistle almost wholly on the subject of regeneration; an epistle in which the term "new-birth," which he doubtless learned in that conversation, is continually introduced; even St. John himself makes no allusion to the subject of baptism, except in a passage which allowedly bears no reference to the present subject. Amongst the various evidences of regeneration which are given both by this apostle and his brethren in their numerous epistles, is it not remarkable that baptism should have no place? We agree with Mr. Biddulph that this silence, independently of other arguments, affords a moral certainty that Dr. Mant has mistaken the meaning of our Saviour's words. Indeed if to baptize men be to spiritually regenerate them, is it not unaccountable that our Lord never administered, except to his immediate disciples, this all-important sacrament? Would St. Paul likewise have "thanked God" that he "*regenerated* no man at Corinth but Crispus and Gaius?" or have added that he "came not to *regenerate* but to preach the gospel?"

The analogy between baptism and circumcision has been al-

ways allowed to reflect considerable light upon the former. Both were sacraments; both pointed out the same thing; both sealed the same blessings. Circumcision had as exact a reference to the regeneration of a Jew, as baptism to that of a Christian. Dr. Mant himself argues that "by baptism mankind at large were to be admitted into covenant with God, *as the Jews had been by the rite of circumcision.*" But he will not, surely, contend that in this Levitical sacrament the inward and spiritual grace always accompanied the outward visible sign, directly in opposition to the authority of the apostle, that "he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God." And if we cannot argue thus in circumcision, neither in the Lord's supper, why alone in baptism? If the prophets, notwithstanding the Jews' outward circumcision, were constantly exhorting them to be spiritually "circumcised in heart," why should a similar language be accounted "heresy" in a Christian teacher. Indeed our own church, in one of her collects, prays, "Grant us the *true circumcision of the Spirit*, that our hearts and all our members being mortified from all worldly and carnal lusts, we may in all things obey thy blessed will." What is this but a prayer for that "death unto sin, and new birth unto righteousness," which is the spiritual grace represented by baptism, and which our church therefore assumes does not invariably accompany its reception! Circumcision, Mr. Biddulph observes, quoting St. Paul, was profitable to none but those who kept the law; to others it conveyed no spiritual advantage. The *rationale* of baptism is obviously the same. It profits a penitent believer as a sign and *seal* of his spiritual regeneration; but to the impenitent and unbelieving it brings no spiritual benefit whatever. To teach otherwise is surely a mortal stroke to the interests of Christian morals.

"The *general* advantage of circumcision to the Jews was, Rom. iii. 2, that 'to them were committed the oracles of God.' The *general* advantage of baptism to the members of the visible Christian church is, that they are thereby admitted to the means of grace. They have a claim on her catechetical instructions, and an interest in the daily prayers which she offers, 'that all who *profess and call themselves Christians*, may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.' For, as there were those who *said they were Jews, but were not* (Rev. ii. 9); so are there also those 'who profess and call themselves Christians,' but have no more of Christianity than the name." (*Biddulph's Remarks*, p. 45.)

But we forbear proceeding further with scriptural arguments,

as we conceive enough has been already exhibited to prove that the sentiment which Dr. Mant has so confidently avouched has no claim whatever to the sanction of a Divine origin. As consistent churchmen, however, we think it necessary to go further, and to show "that the national creed is by no means chargeable with maintaining a doctrine, to which, as we have already seen, the Sacred Writings give no manner of countenance. For this purpose we must refer to our various ecclesiastical formularies, especially to those which Dr. Mant has most particularly cited as applicable to his purpose: in doing which we shall beg leave to reverse the order which he has chosen; for viewing, as we do, the thirty-nine articles as the authorized standard and measure of church doctrine, it is to these studied and professed expositions that the first appeal ought undoubtedly to be made. Dr. Mant explains the articles by the liturgical forms; but surely, in case of apparent discrepancy, it is a far more safe way of arriving at the meaning of our Reformers to reverse his arrangement, by comparing the services with the cautious and measured spirit of the articles. The articles are the text, to which the forms are so many comments; but it is scarcely correct to begin with the comment and thence proceed to the text. The articles in fact furnish such an unbroken clue to the explanation of all our regular and occasional forms, that we conceive Dr. Mant has given himself much unnecessary trouble, and been led into important mistakes in ascertaining the meaning of the church, by omitting to make these the *primary* objects of discussion. Selecting a few ill-understood passages, without applying the key furnished by the Reformers themselves for explaining their meaning, he has fixed upon the church a doctrine which has been proved to be inconsistent with Scripture, and which, whether scriptural or not, we think we can prove to be widely foreign to the views of our venerable Founders.

What then is the doctrine of our thirty-nine articles on the subject of *both* the sacraments? Is it not, in language too plain for ignorance to misunderstand, or sophistry to evade, that the effect of each sacrament is *conditional*; that the inward spiritual grace may or may not accompany the outward sign, according to the will of God and the frame of mind in the recipient; that if, as the communion service expresses it, "with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive" either sacrament, *then* we may expect corresponding spiritual benefits; but that in every other case they are but exterior symbols of what might, and by the divine blessing would, have been the effect had they been worthily received. Dr. Mant however thinks, that to suppose the inward grace of regeneration separable from its outward sign is to reduce the sacrament of baptism to "a mere beg-

garly element, a form without substance, a body without spirit, a sign without signification." The very "doubting of the inward and spiritual grace of baptism," as explained by himself, gives him "pain and surprise." He constantly argues that, if baptism rightly administered (he says nothing of rightly *received)* do not necessarily "convey effectual regeneration," it is "no sacrament," and that "to deny its regenerating influence is to deny its sacramental character." Of course this reasoning, by undeniable analogy, holds good of the Lord's supper; for this sacrament, as well as the other, is defined as "an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace;" so that the very "doubting its inward and spiritual grace," or asserting that it does not invariably convey that grace in its "legitimate administration," must be to reduce it to a "mere beggarly element, a form without substance," &c. &c. in a word, must render it "no sacrament," must destroy its "sacramental character." After all this Dr. Mant must remark with no small "pain and surprise," that our own church has been guilty of this very "heresy" in almost innumerable passages: *e.g.* Art. 29. "The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth, (as St. Augustine saith,) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, *yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ*, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing." The 25th article teaches a similar doctrine respecting *both* sacraments. "In such only as *worthily receive* the same have they a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith." It is surely impossible to imagine that, by the same act, an unworthy receiver of baptism should thus purchase condemnation on the one hand, and be spiritually regenerated, received into the family of God, &c. &c. on the other! In like manner the 26th article speaks of the "effects of the sacraments" as taking place in such as "by faith and rightly do receive" them; and of course by necessary inference in no others. Again, the 13th article teaches that "works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God," so that if the Spirit of God is never given till baptism, the very act of a candidate presenting himself with penitence and faith at the baptismal font "is not pleasant to God," but 'has in it the nature of sin."

We might make other references to the articles, but we think it best for the sake of conciseness to refer to those only which Dr. Mant has adduced to strengthen his own position. These are the 9th, the 15th, the 16th, and the 27th.

Of the 9th he remarks, "It is laid down that 'the original

infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated,' and by the context it appears, that by the regenerated are intended 'they that believe and are baptized.'" As this is a plain question of fact we shall only assert in return that, by the context, it certainly does *not* appear that by the regenerated are intended they that believe and are baptized. The article has no reference whatever to the *distinct* subject under consideration. If it apply at all, it applies on the other side. We most fully embrace the doctrine that "by the regenerate are intended they that *believe* and are baptized;" it is the doctrine of Scripture and of the church: our controversy is only with those who assert that by the regenerate are intended they who are baptized, *whether they believe or not*; for example, Simon Magus, who did *not* believe, but respecting whom Dr. Mant must think it "an error to describe any subsequent part of his life as a season of unregeneracy."

Dr. Mant's references to the 15th and 16th articles prove nothing more than the former, the mode of arguing being merely a repetition of that which we have noticed in speaking of his appeals to Scripture; namely, an inconclusive assumption that two things are synonymous and inseparable because they happen to occur together in the same quotation.

Dr. Mant however remarks: "But that which is more pointedly and more fully to our purpose, is the 27th article, which expressly sets forth the doctrine of the Church concerning baptism." We cheerfully appeal to this document.

Article 27th. *Of Baptism.*—"Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and a mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a *sign* of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly *signed* and *sealed*; faith is *confirmed*, and grace *increased* by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."

We cannot perceive how this article assists the exclusive hypothesis of Dr. Mant. The first truth inculcated is that baptism is, not merely a "sign of our profession," but also a *sign* of our regeneration." But is a sign the thing signified; or is it even invariably accompanied by it? What our "profession" is, the Church has beautifully described. "Baptism doth represent unto us our *profession*, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and be made like unto him, that as he died and rose again for us, so should we who are baptized die

from sin, and rise again unto righteousness; continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living." Such is the profession of which baptism is the sign. But does this heavenly line of conduct invariably accompany all who have been baptized? Far, very far from it. Why then should spiritual regeneration be inseparable from baptism, since baptism is not *more* the sign thereof than it is of this holy *profession?* If we proceed with the article we perceive that the blessing connected with baptism is stated to be (not a change of heart, &c.) but simply that the recipient is "grafted into the church;" which church is defined in a former article to be a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered." Hitherto, therefore, the article has alluded to nothing more than *external privilege.* Nothing has been said of its conveying, "as an instrument," those high and heavenly graces which Dr. Mant contends are its inseparable companions. Indeed, had the strongest language been used, nothing would have been gained to our author's hypothesis, as the article applies only to those who "rightly," or as it is elsewhere explained "by faith," receive this sacred ordinance, so that the unconditional, the inseparable connexion would by no means follow. The article, however, has not left us in doubt; for it adds, that "faith is *confirmed*, and grace *increased*;" thus undeniably implying that they had previously existed; and even this effect is not predicated unconditionally, but "by virtue of prayer unto God." The utmost that is stated is that, to a person thus "rightly," that is, "by faith," receiving baptism, the promises of God are "visibly signed and sealed." The last supplementary sentence in the article is additional proof, if such be wanted, that Dr. Mant has mistaken the meaning of the Reformers. An objection is supposed and answered. The objection may be expressed in the words of the catechism; "Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform faith and repentance," that is, cannot "rightly" receive this sacrament. The answer is merely of a general nature, that the custom is "agreeable with the institution of Christ." But on Dr. Mant's hypothesis no such objection could have been made, nor any such answer required; for if baptism always in its "legitimate administration," unconditionally confer spiritual grace and regeneration;—a grace and regeneration which neither pre-suppose, nor necessarily produce, any visible moral effects;—no one could have denied that an infant is as much capable of *such* a regeneration as an adult. The real or supposed difficulty in infant baptism is the absence of repentance and faith. But if these be not considered preliminaries indispensable, and without which

the spiritual grace of baptism does not take place, no such difficulty could have been imagined. Our church, however, *does* consider them as indispensable. Her offices do not veil this necessity; they acknowledge it in its full force, but suppose, in the judgment of that charity which "hopeth all things," that in the case of an adult these essentials have taken place already, and in the case of an infant will do so hereafter. If disappointed in these expectations, she no longer considers the baptized person as possessing the spiritual grace of baptism. She looks at the lives of her members, and not merely at the baptismal register, to know whether they are in reality possessors of that internal regeneration, which in a judgment of charity she had supposed. The "inward and spiritual grace" signified by baptism, namely, a "death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness," is appended in her catechism solely to "repentance, whereby we *forsake* sin, and faith, whereby we steadfastly believe the promises of God made to us in that sacrament." The church baptizes no adult, but professedly on this supposition; nay, so indispensably do these preliminaries appear in her eyes, that by somewhat like what would be called in secular affairs a fiction of law, she supposes them to exist even in infants, who are viewed as promising them by their sureties, "which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform." We contend that on Dr. Mant's hypothesis the question in the catechism respecting infants was needless, and the answer relative to their sponsors by no means a direct or proper reply. According to the doctrine we are combating, the solution of the question should have been thus: infants are baptized because our Lord said that unless we are regenerated we cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, and because no other than *baptismal* regeneration is possible in this world. This would have been satisfactory; and as for faith and repentance they needed not have been mentioned, since Dr. Mant by no means appears to view the spiritual grace of baptism as contingent on circumstances of this kind, but as indiscriminately accompanying, in every instance, its "legitimate administration." We just remark in passing, that there is a systematic difference of language between Dr. Mant and the church; the one uniformly employing such phrases as "rightly *received*," the other "legitimately *administered*," a difference which can be accounted for only on the supposition that the church limits the spiritual blessing to the worthy receiver, whilst Dr. Mant thinks it common to all who are baptized by a regular minister, even to Simon Magus himself.

The argument which we intend to derive from these remarks upon the articles, and which we now proceed to apply as a clue

to any supposed ambiguity in our ordinary services, is that our Reformers intended the strong language which they employed in speaking of baptism, (as far at least as that language refers to spiritual blessings of a high order) to be conditional and not absolute. To suppose otherwise is to set them at variance, not only with the inspired volume, but also with themselves. If in their articles they constantly expressed themselves hypothetically, stating that "in such only as worthily receive the sacraments have they a wholesome effect or operation," can it be supposed that they wished or intended their popular forms to be understood without those necessary conditions, which on other occasions they were themselves so anxious to lay down? The sincerity of the candidate, and the presence of penitence and faith are assumed; and on this assumption the language of the church, as far as it applies to spiritual regeneration, is evidently grounded. If we examine our other services, we shall find the same system of charitable assumption pervading the whole.* We begin with

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* This language of charity, much as it has been objected to by various classes of dissenters, is strictly scriptural, and is the only plan that could have been properly adopted in a national church. Not having quoted Mr. Bugg's publication before, we avail ourselves of his remarks on this subject.

"On Dr. M.'s interpretation of all baptised persons being regenerate, because the office makes a *general* admission, the *scriptures* would be inconsistent with themselves. For they, precisely in the same manner, make a general acknowledgment of the integrity of the *whole* collective *body*, yet they *know*, at the time, that their language does not apply to *all individually*. Nay, in *some cases*, the divine writers make *very large* and numerous exceptions.

"We shall now make a few references to the scriptures, with this view:—

"I. Our Saviour's conduct to his disciples is much to our purpose. At various times he addresses the twelve Apostles, sends them to teach in the villages and towns, and even speaks of their occupying 'twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel,' without reference to any exception. (Matt. xix. 28.) Yet we know that Judas was not amongst the number of his faithful followers. And at another time they are addressed thus: 'I speak not of you *all*, I know whom I have chosen.' (John xiii. 18.) And again, 'there are some of *you* that believe not:' With this reflection made upon these words by the Evangelist;' For Jesus 'knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him.' (John vi. 64.)

"II. St. Paul likewise deals largely in this charitable mode of address to the churches. He speaks of them frequently, as if *all* were truly pious characters, and declares it is meet for him to think this of them *all*. Yet in the very same Epistles, he blames, warns, and makes exceptions.

"The commencement of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, is remarkable for this mode of address. He speaks of them generally 'as sanctified, called to be saints, as calling upon the name of Jesus Christ:' 'I thank my God,' he adds, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ: that in every thing ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge; even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you; so that ye come behind in no gift, waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful by whom ye were called into the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.' (1 Cor. i. 2—9.) Even the office of baptism, cannot be more general and full of charity to all professors, than these addresses are. Yet in *this very church*, there was '*schism*:' (1, 12, 13) '*car-*

that upon which our author most relies,—the confirmation service; respecting which he contends in substance that the blessing described by the bishop is not at all contingent on the personal character of the candidate, but refers solely to the right which he obtained by baptism, irrespective of his future penitence or faith. But was it logically correct to cite, as Dr. Mant has done, the bishop's "affirmation," without alluding to those previous interrogations and stipulations on the supposed sincerity of which the affirmation is made? Does not the bishop solemnly enjoin that none shall come to this holy rite who do not "promise that by the grace of God they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe such things, as they by their own confession have assented unto?" After which the candidate is interrogated as follows: "Dost thou here in the presence of God and this congregation renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in your name in your baptism?" &c. &c. To which he audibly replies, and as far as the church can judge, with sincerity, "*I do.*" On this presumed sincerity, the subsequent language of the church is founded; and every Christian will allow, that no man can from his heart make these holy vows, trusting to the grace of the Divine Spirit who alone can enable him to fulfil them, who is not, in the highest sense of

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nality;' (31) '*fornication*;' (5, 1) '*litigiousness*;' (6, 1) '*uncharitableness*;' (8, 1) and above all, as it respects the point in hand: *profanation* of the Lord's Supper.' (11, 23.)

Another address to the Philippians is still stronger if possible. (1. 3—7.) 'I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, always in every prayer of mine for you all, making request with joy, for your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now; being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform until the day of Jesus Christ; even as it is meet for me to *think* this of *you all*, because I have you in my heart; inasmuch as in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye *all* are partakers of my grace."

"Nothing can be penned more expressive of Paul's confidence in their piety, and no words could more expressly embrace them *all*. Yet it is nevertheless true that St. Paul did not *intend* to include all professors of christianity in the church at Philippi.—For we find him before the close of the Epistle, speaking most strongly of many, and warning the truly pious against them. 'Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for ensample. (For *many* walk of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are enemies of the cross of Christ; whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.) For our conversation is in heaven.' (Phil. iii 17—19.)

"And in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, are these remarkable passages: 'ye are *all* the children of light, and children of the day; we are not of night nor of darkness:' nevertheless there were among them those who walked in darkness, though he thus spake. 'Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that *are unruly*.' (1 Thes. v. 5, 14.) And precisely to the same effect do we find him writing again in his Second Epistle. 'We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charity of *every one* of *you all* toward each other aboundeth.' (2 Thes. i. 3.) Yet this does not forbid his making exceptions, and censuring some of them. 'For we hear that there are some which walk *among you disorderly*.'" (*Bugg*, p. 76—79.)

the word, a regenerate character. How then can Dr. Mant imagine that this service supposes *every* baptized person to be spiritually regenerate, without any reference to the present state of his mind, and indeed without any condition whatever? If his argument prove any thing, it proves far too much; for, by his hypothesis, the bishop not only predicates unconditionally that all candidates for confirmation are regenerate, but that they have, up to that very moment, obtained "forgiveness of all their sins;" an assertion which can only be understood as charitably grounded on the supposed sincerity and faith of the recipient. So obviously, indeed, does the whole service hinge on the supposition that the *converting* influences of the Holy Spirit have already taken place, that it goes on to say, "Increase [not give or bestow, which would have been the natural language on any other ground than that of charitable assumption] in them thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom and understanding," &c.

If we advert to our other services, we observe the same hypothetical system. Witness the form of absolution; "He hath given power and commandment to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, *being penitent*," &c. In the service for the visitation of the sick the form is much stronger, and without such express mention of the conditions on which it depends; but would Dr. Mant therefore contend that such conditions are not implied, that there is no reference to the sick man's state of mind, and to his presumed sincerity in the solemn examination, confession, and belief which had gone before? Again, in the "service for the churching of women," is not the person assumed to be the "servant of the Lord," and as "putting her trust in him?" an assumption grounded on the plain fact of her having with apparent penitence and gratitude presented herself in public before the Almighty, to acknowledge his "great mercies vouchsafed unto her." In short, does not a similar principle pervade all our services, and would they not become intolerably perverted by a general application of Dr. Mant's mode of criticism?

The catechism exhibits very remarkably this charitable construction. It proceeds on the avowed supposition of the catechumen being a partaker of penitence and faith, which it is expressly stated were "required of him to be baptized." It was impossible to construct a rational form on any other principle. The command of God is, that *all* men should believe; and a Christian community could not, therefore, lay down rules and regulations for those who do not acknowledge this principle. To have acted otherwise than as our church has done, would be something like publishing an act of parliament to prohibit, for

instance, smuggling, or any other crime; but at the same time pointing out, in case they must exist, in what manner they might be least improperly conducted. The whole misconception respecting our catechism and several other formularies arises *from our not habitually separating what we are in profession from what we are in fact.* We are "in the eye of the church," (to use Hooker's expression,) all that we profess ourselves to be; but at the same time we are constantly exhorted to examine our own hearts, as to our real state before our Creator, and to see how far the high and heavenly privileges of true Christians are in reality our own.

Having thus transiently remarked the general principle which pervades our formularies, we come to the immediate subject of the baptismal service, which we shall see ought to be construed in the same hypothetical manner with all the others. We begin with the form for adults, where of course the question is met in a somewhat more simple form than in the case of infants, which we shall consider afterwards. This service commences with two rubrics, enjoining that the names of the persons to be baptized should be signified to the bishop or minister, "a week before at the least," "that so due care may be taken for their *examination*, and that they may be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and that they be exhorted to prepare themselves," &c.; and it is in case only of their being "found fit" that they are to be permitted to approach the font. Here we perceive, at the very commencement, an indication that the spiritual blessings of baptism are supposed to be connected with the state of mind of the recipient. To this rubric succeeds a prayer imploring in substance that the candidate may be baptized with "*water and the Holy Ghost*," which juxta-position of words—a juxta-position fully warranted by our Lord's expression to Nicodemus—Dr. Mant assumes as conclusive proof that in the minds of our reformers the two effects appeared inseparable and undivided. In several, however, of the subsequent prayers, the spiritual blessing is implored alone; and throughout the whole of these repeated addresses to the Almighty, previously to the administration of the element, the supplicatory stile is constantly employed. There is not a word that indicates the claiming of an unconditional promise. We pray simply and fervently, that the recipient *may* obtain those spiritual blessings which we desire, a form of expression directly against Dr. Mant's hypothesis, since it undeniably indicates that it is very possible we *may* not obtain them; that is, where faith and repentance, and the other requisites for baptism, have not really taken place, or are not in their proper vigour.

In commenting on the gospel for the occasion, which is our

Lord's discourse with Nicodemus, the church goes on very properly to infer "the great necessity of this sacrament, *where it may be had.*" If, however, our Reformers had construed that gospel as Dr. Mant does, namely, that baptism is the exclusive means, "humanly speaking," of that new birth, without which our Lord had just asserted, no man should enter the kingdom of heaven, would they, durst they, have interpolated the decision of the Son of God by such a saving clause as *where it may be had?* So far from it, we might have expected an injunction to ministers to make baptism their greatest object, and to sacrifice, if necessary, every other duty, even public worship itself, to its performance.

The succeeding hortatory address and interrogations to the candidate prove what the church requires of him, and what faith she places in the sincerity of his replies. He expressly states that it is his desire to be baptized in the faith of Christ; he is taught the nature of a covenant, in which the Almighty on his part promises to "receive him, to bless him, to release him of his sins, to give him the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life;" and he on his part is taught to promise, the Lord being his helper, "to renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh." This is an explicit covenant, implying "I will be to them a God,—they shall be to me a people." Dr. Mant completely nullifies, whilst he endeavours to support, the covenant nature of baptism, by supposing that the spiritual benefits are conferred even when the stipulations of the recipient proceed out of "feigned lips." The visible church indeed, not being infallible, is obliged to accept the vows of all, and to give them credit for sincerity in their engagement; but He who sees the heart is not, therefore, obliged to bestow the spiritual blessing where He perceives that the outward sign was adopted without corresponding moral and religious qualities of mind.

The hypothetical principle which we have mentioned continues to pervade the service. For example, in the exhortation which is used on the occasion the minister says, "Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe, that He will favourably receive these present persons [how?—without penitence or faith?—invariably?—as often as the sacrament is legitimately administered?—no, but,] truly *repenting*, and *coming unto him by faith*; that he will grant them remission of their sins, and bestow upon them the Holy Ghost; that he will give them the blessing of eternal life, and make them partakers of his everlasting kingdom." Here again we think Dr. Mant's argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much, since he would connect *invariably* with baptism

all the blessings above-mentioned, and many of which he must allow *may not*, and often, too often, do not, follow after that sacrament. Our church could never, in common consistency, intend to predicate all this of every baptized person, *irrespectively of other considerations.*

Thus instructed and examined, the candidate is at length baptized; after which occur the expressions on which the whole supposed strength of Dr. Mant's argument depends. It is true, and we are far from wishing to conceal it, that our church does from this time look upon the candidate as regenerate. But why? not because baptism invariably or necessarily conveys that "death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness," in which she believes regeneration to consist; for on *this* part of the subject she ventures to say no more, than that "so *should* we who are baptized, [not as Dr. Mant supposes, so *do* we,] die from sin and rise again unto righteousness;'—but because the candidate, having been examined and "found fit;" having earnestly desired baptism; having solemnly professed himself in the sight of God as earnestly repenting, truly believing, faithfully promising, what no man "dead in sins" ever could or would from his heart "*faithfully* promise;' the chuch takes it for granted that the urgent, the reiterated prayers which have been presented on his behalf have been heard and answered; an assumption the general propriety of which cannot be doubted, when the proffered mercy of God, and the apparent penitence and faith of the candidate, are admitted into the consideration.

But reverse the scene. Imagine these vows, these stipulations, these monitions, these prayers, this language of Christian faith and Christian repentance, all gone through, as perhaps too often happens, without corresponding emotions of heart;—imagine, for instance, a case such as Mr. Scott mentions, of an infidel Jew, induced by secular advantage to submit to baptism in the name of Him whom in his heart he despises and blasphemes; or the still more common case which Mr. Biddulph brings forward, of adults in our own nation pressing to the baptismal font, merely, perhaps, to be qualified for taking up their civil freedom in order to vote at an election. Can we, dare we assert, in such cases,—cases where obviously baptism is not "rightly received" notwithstanding its "legitimate administration,"—that our venerable Reformers intended us to believe that a "death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness," had really and invariably taken place; and that the candidate was henceforth regenerate in the *highest*, because, as Dr. Mant thinks, the *only*, sense of which that term is susceptible? Surely we must pause before we admit so new and dangerous a proposition.

If this line of argument be fairly applicable to adult converts,

Dr. Mant cannot of course find refuge by adverting to the office for infant baptism, since both are avowedly constructed on the same principle. Children are baptized "because they promise faith and repentance by their sureties;" as adults are upon their own profession. The hypothetical principle, therefore, pervades each service. If the maintainers of Dr. Mant's views should ever find it convenient to give up the case of adults, for instance Simon Magus, they must, however unwillingly, extend the concession to infants likewise. The willingness of the infant to act up to the vows of his sponsors "when he comes to age" is assumed, and the subsequent declarations, therefore, are couched in the animating language of faith, hope, and charity.

To many readers the most valuable part of several of the works mentioned at the head of this article will be the copious list of quotations and authorities. This, however, is a part of the subject into which our limits will not allow us particularly to enter. To our own minds we confess that these citations have tended chiefly to prove that our Reformers and standard writers, not anticipating any particular controversy respecting the effects of baptism, are by no means so explicit in their language as either party might desire. But in a negative point of view, namely to show that whatever might be their real opinions respecting baptism, they did *not* view it as the *invariable* and *exclusive* instrument of the new birth, we think these extracts are very satisfactory. They are selected chiefly from the Homilies, the Reformers, the standard writers of our own church, and the confessions of the protestant churches on the continent.

The citations from the *Homilies* bear upon two or three points connected with the discussion. First, they completely prove that, with regard to the necessity of some great moral change of heart independent of baptism, and which is oftentimes, whether correctly or not, denominated regeneration, the writers of the Homilies were quite decided; and this point, it must be remarked, is of no small consequence, since Dr. Mant has softened down even the emphatic term conversion far below the meaning of the Scriptures, the Reformers, and the fathers of the church; but whilst the Homilies fully recognize the *doctrine* for which we are contending, we must state with candour that it is somewhat doubtful whether they ever expressly use the peculiar *term* regeneration, without at least some tacit reference to the sacrament of baptism. We do not, however, admit, that this concession favours the views of Dr. Mant; since the expressions "children of God," "new creatures," and various others of kindred import with regeneration, are *constantly* employed to the utter confusion of his hypothesis. Thus we are taught that faith, not exclusively baptism, "maketh us to be the children of God," a phrase which Dr. Mant allows to be equiva-

lent to regenerate. Thus again, in stating a distinction between the "carnal man" and "a true Christian man," where obviously by both are intended persons baptized, and where consequently Dr. Mant would have contended that none but the terms converted and unconverted ought to have been employed, the latter is exclusively described as "the very member of Christ, the temple of the Holy Ghost, the Son of God, and the very inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."* This kind of language occurs so constantly in the Homilies, that no impartial person can for a moment suppose they were written on the system now avowed by Dr. Mant; the contrary, indeed, is evident in almost every page. All the synonymes of regenerate and unregenerate are applied to persons baptized, in connexion, not with the parish register, but with the actual state of their hearts and conduct. Even the peculiar term which we have partly given up is used, if not *expressly*, at least by implication, in reference to conversion as well as baptism. Mr. Scott has produced an instance strongly in point, in which he remarks:

"Here is the very term *regeneration* and *regeneration by the Holy Ghost*, used for a change of mind, which produces 'good and godly motions in the heart;' by which, and by the conduct resulting from them, we are taught to determine whether we be endued with the Holy Ghost or not. The term is applied to the change wrought in David, St. Matthew, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Now what authority is there for ascribing St. Peter's change, from 'a simple fisher to a mighty apostle,' to his baptism? What, for saying one word of baptism in the case of 'Matthew, *sitting at the receipt of custom*, when of a proud publican he became a humble and lowly evangelist?' And, most of all, what has the 'regeneration' of David, 'when of a poor shepherd he became a princely prophet,' to do with baptism?—Whatever be the nature of the change here described by it, the passage demonstrates, that the church does not *confine* the term to baptism, or the effect of baptism, or consider 'any other than baptismal regeneration as impossible in this world.'" (*Scott*, p. 178, 179.)

To the quotations from the Homilies is appended by several of our authors a list of extracts from the standard writers of the church. Mr. Biddulph, in particular, has contrived to overwhelm Dr. Mant's doctrine with a host of respectable authori-

* The expressions here employed are those of the catechism as it now stands. Do they not therefore furnish a new proof, if any be needed, that that document refers to the catecumen only *conditionally?* He is *in profession*, and as far as the church can be supposed to know, "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven;"—all this is inferred from the presumed sincerity of his baptismal stipulations, now ratified, as far as he is capable of knowing and deciding, by his present deliberate self-dedication. The repetition of the epithet "*very*," which is not found in the catechism, seems evidently to point out this distinction between what we are in profession, and what we are *in truth*.

ties; appealing to such a phalanx of bishops, martyrs, and illustrious divines as his opponent, we conceive, will not easily overthrow. We do not mean to say that these writers all agree precisely as to what is the doctrine of the Bible and the Church upon the subject; but they certainly all agree as to what it is *not*; and this, we have repeatedly observed, is the only point at present under consideration. If amidst their various subordinate opinions, *any one* be right, Dr. Mant's is necessarily wrong. Here they are unanimous; and as to the minor features of the discussion, we think that these authors almost all incline to the opinion that regeneration is a spiritual blessing, signed and sealed to us when rightly and by faith we are partakers of baptism. This is far, however, from verging towards the doctrine of the tract under consideration.

Our allusion to these authorities must necessarily be very concise, though as we have entered so far into the subject we cannot consent wholly to pass them over, especially those to which Dr. Mant has referred as in his favour. We begin with Bishop Jeremy Taylor, to whom he repeatedly refers, and whose language on the subject we own to be as strong as he can possibly desire. But that very strength of assertion induces us to conclude that the Bishop always intended to describe what a baptized person is *in profession*, that is, what he ought to be, rather than what in point of fact he is always found. If his words, as adduced by Dr. Mant himself, prove any thing, they prove, as we have more than once observed already of other citations, far too much; for not only does the Bishop argue that "baptism is a [not exclusively *the*] new birth, by which we enter into the new world, the new creation," &c. &c.; but he asserts, that henceforth "our food is the body and blood of our Lord; faith is our learning; religion our employment; and our whole life is spiritual, and heaven the object of our hopes, and the mighty price [prize?] of our high calling." How beautiful and true this description of our *profession*, "which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like him." But if the Bishop intended, as Dr. Mant supposes, to apply this description to every baptized person, he asserted not only what was theologically untenable, but what is palpably false as respects a plain matter of undeniable fact; for nothing can be more obvious than that every baptized person does *not* make the body and blood of Christ his food, faith his learning, religion his employment, &c. Either, therefore, the Bishop's assertion was, what we conceive it to have been, the language of charitable assumption, grounded on the supposition that his hearers were persons living up to their profession, or it was so inconsistent with facts as utterly to invalidate his authority. We have, however, explicit proof that the Bishop did not coincide in

opinion with Dr. Mant; for, on turning to Mr. Biddulph's and Mr. Scott's counter-quotations, we find him speaking to his auditors, for example, as follows: "*they were washed with water, but were never baptized with the Spirit*;"—"if we do not apprehend and greedily suck in the precepts of this holy discipline, as aptly as merchants do discourse of gain, or farmers of fair harvests, we have *nothing but the name of Christians*; but are no more such really than mandrakes are men, or sponges are living creatures." Again: "But a *spiritual man*, a man that is in a state of grace, who is *born anew of the Spirit*, that is *regenerate* by the Spirit of Christ, he is led by the Spirit, he lives in the Spirit, he does the work of God cheerfully, habitually, vigorously," &c. &c.; with much more to the same purpose, and from all which we intend only to infer that Bishop Taylor did not view baptism and spiritual regeneration as having a necessary inseparable connexion.

Dr. Mant's quotation from Bishop Beveridge appears very strong and decisive as to his opinion respecting the right interpretation of our Lord's words to Nicodemus; yet we find the Bishop in the counter-quotations equally clear in maintaining that our becoming new-creatures, *regenerate*, &c. is by *believing*, by receiving Christ, &c. Vide Biddulph's quotations from Beveridge p. 94—100. They are very explicit, but will not admit of abridgment.

The selections of Dr. Mant from Ridley, Latimer, and King Edward's Catechism are very inconclusive. Ridley says only, that "*as* the body is nourished by the bread and wine at the communion, and the soul by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ, *even so* in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost." King Edward's Catechism simply states that "baptism doth *represent* and *set before our eyes* that we are by the Spirit of Christ new born," &c. Surely these two passages prove nothing for Dr. Mant. In the former the effects of baptism are mentioned as minutely corresponding to those of the Lord's supper, in which the spiritual grace is undeniably contingent; in the latter we are taught no more than that baptism *represents* what Dr. Mant wishes to prove it invariably *conveys*.

Even Latimer, whose expressions on any subject are seldom very hypocritically measured, and from whom Dr. Mant produces a kind of hyperbolical quotation, infers in the very same sentence that baptism is "a thing of great weight;" (why? because it invariably conveys spiritual regeneration?) no; but simply because "it *ascertaineth* and *assureth* us that, like as the water washeth the body, and cleanseth it, so the blood ofChrist our Saviour cleanseth and washeth it from all filth and uncleanness of sins;" that is, it is a *sign* and *pledge* of an inward spiritual grace.

How far the venerable Latimer was from coinciding with the peculiar views of Dr. Mant, will appear from all his writings; for example, in his sixth sermon he remarks:

"The preaching of the gospel is the power of God to every man that doth believe. He [St. Paul] means God's word opened; it is the instrument and thing whereby we are saved. Beware, beware, ye diminish not this office, for if ye do, ye deny God's power to all that do believe. Christ saith, consonant to the same, 'Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' He must have a regeneration; and *what is this regeneration?* It is not to be christened and nothing else. How is it to be expounded then? St. Peter showeth that one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance and collation of places that make Scripture plain. Saith St. Peter, 'We be born again?' How? 'not by a mortal seed, but by an immortal.' What is this immortal seed? 'By the word of the living God,' by the word of God preached and opened. *Thus cometh in our new birth.*"

Did then this most venerable man believe that our new-birth cometh in exclusively by baptism?

We might allude with confidence to innumerable other martyrs, confessors, and Reformers. Thus Jewel quotes with complacency St. Jerome, as asserting that "they that receive not baptism with a perfect [sincere] faith *receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not.*" The famous catechism likewise of Dean Noel in like manner states that "the *faithful only* receive this fruit," namely the spiritual grace of baptism. Bishop Hooper is still more explicit; "Although baptism be a sacrament to be received and honourably used of all men, yet it sanctifieth no man; and such as do attribute the remission of sins to the external sign do offend," &c. "Man is made the brother of Christ and heir of eternal life [ergo, is regenerated] by God's only mercy, received by faith, *before he receive any ceremony to confirm and manifest openly his right and title.*"

But we forbear, and shall content ourselves with but one authority more, namely, Archbishop Cranmer, whom we select, not only as being himself a host, but from the circumstance of his having had the chief hand in the compilation of our ecclesiastical services, and consequently being best able to understand their meaning. In arguing with the papists, he explains the strong language used by the fathers respecting the eucharist in exactly the same mode in which we have endeavoured to illustrate the similar language in our own forms relative to baptism. It is remarkable that he *takes for granted* the conditional nature of baptism, and brings it forward as a thing known and admitted, in order to explain what at that time was less understood, namely, the equally

conditional nature of the Lord's supper. Thus he argues, "As, in baptism, those that come feignedly, and those that come unfeignedly, both be washed with the sacramental water, *but both be not washed with the Holy Ghost,* and clothed with Christ, even so in the Lord's supper," &c.

The papists attributed to both sacraments a necessary spiritual effect, *ex opere operato.* The protestants denied this equally of both. Dr. Mant denies it of the one, but affirms it of the other. Our Church, being protestant, attaches it only conditionally, namely, to those only who worthily receive either sacrament. The analogy between the two is undeniable; the spiritual grace represented by the eucharist is "the partaking of the body and blood of Christ;" that represented by baptism is "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness;" if therefore the language of our church proves that the Reformers imagined that we cannot become partakers of regeneration but by baptism, it equally follows, from the similarity of their expressions respecting each sacrament, that they imagined we cannot become partakers of the body and blood of Christ but by the reception of the Lord's supper. But what is the language of the rubric appended to the service for visiting the sick? "The curate shall instruct him [the sick person] that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth." We have before proved that in either sacrament the outward sign may take place without the inward spiritual grace; we now see the opinion of our Church that, in one sacrament at least, the inward spiritual grace may take place without the outward visible sign; and if in the eucharist why not in baptism? Every argument adduced to prove that none but baptismal regeneration is possible in this world, would equally prove that none but eucharistical participation of the body and blood of Christ is possible; a position flatly contradictory to our own rubric on the subject.

Dr. Mant produces the opinion of the Non-conformists respecting our baptismal service as being in his favour; but is he ignorant that the same persons equally produce our formularies, and in a similar way, respecting the other sacrament? If he admit one he ought to admit both. For ourselves we admit neither. In our very last number, in reviewing a dissenting work, entitled "The Legend of the Velvet Cushion," we had occasion to animadvert on the unfairness of the author in charging the church with countenancing the doctrine of transubstantiation. Yet if Dr. Mant's

reasoning respecting the sister sacrament be correct, the assertion of the Legend was, alas, but too true! Thus piece by piece our services are to be made to speak the language of popery, till we have nothing left deserving the name of a protestant or spiritual church.

To return to our former subject, there is another common mode of interpreting the baptismal language of the church, a mode adopted by many of our greatest divines, and which we conceive to be the opinion of no small number of our Bartlett's Buildings friends. It is clear that in the higher, and, as we think, the proper, sense of the term regeneration, as including a change of heart, an implantation of spiritual graces, &c. it would be unscriptural, and contrary to our own articles, to connect it inseparably and exclusively, as Dr. Mant has done, with the administration of baptism: at the same time it is equally clear that our Church does, *in some manner*, speak generally of her members as persons who are regenerate or born again. On Dr. Mant's system the discrepancy with Scripture and the articles is insuperable; but on the hypothetical principle to which we have adverted, an easy solution is found, and this principle is fully justified by the practice of the New Testament writers themselves, who ascribe generally to their converts such religious qualities and graces as many individuals amongst them by no means personally possessed. A large class, however, of those who differ essentially from Dr. Mant's views of regeneration still think that the hypothetical mode of interpretation is not necessary; but that our Reformers employed the terms under consideration in a subordinate ecclesiastical sense, and that they *thus* (and *thus* only) predicated of every baptized person that he is regenerate; without, however, intending to deny the necessity of that higher regeneration without which even a baptized person cannot enter the kingdom of God. Mr. Cunningham has shown at some length that many of our divines use the term in both senses; and it certainly appears to us that this is the mode adopted by a great part of the writers on the list of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. If so, they correspond very nearly in their views of this subject with Mr. Cunningham, and, perhaps, also with Mr. Biddulph, both of whom seem to allow the distinction of baptismal and spiritual regeneration.

Dr. Mant demands "where are we instructed to pray after baptism for regeneration?" * He was probably not aware when

* Dr. Mant's vague mode of interrogation is very fairly criticised by Mr. Scott. "'But where are we instructed to pray after baptism for regeneration?' And where, (it may be answered,) in Scripture at least, are we in terms, instructed so to pray before baptism? 'Where,' Mr. M. proceeds, 'where is it intimated that the (incestuous) Corinthian was born again subsequently to his fall?' And where, I re-

he triumphantly asked the question, that it could and would be as triumphantly replied, We are thus instructed, *proh pudor!* in the publications of the Bartlett's Buildings society! Yet in the year 1812, at the very unfortunate moment in which our author was preaching the Bampton Lectures, from which his present publication is an extract, at the very moment in which he was so confidently demanding "where are we instructed to pray after baptism for regeneration?" the society were widely promulgating tracts amongst which occurs, for instance, the following title, "Regeneration, a PRAYER for it; Collect for Christmas Day." Since the year in which these lectures were delivered this title has been changed into "*Renovation*, a Prayer for it." We do not dispute the propriety of the new heading; but certainly the tone of Dr. Mant's interrogations would have been less confident and lofty had he recollected that so venerable an institution had long patronized and taught the very doctrine which he very emphatically denounced as heresy. We think that every reader will agree with us, that the simple circumstance of so remarkable a title having so long escaped notice or correction is in itself a complete proof that the leading members of the society never entertained the views which Dr. Mant has now promulgated on the subject of regeneration. The charge is also remarkable, as Dr. Mant's tract could not have consistently appeared on the list whilst one such expression was to be found amongst their publications.

But though we consider even *one* such instance as complete proof in itself that Dr. Mant's hypothesis is not the accredited doctrine of the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, we are by no means confined to one or more solitary expressions, since it is an indubitable fact, as must appear to every reader of Mr. Biddulph and Mr. Scott's quotations, that the society's tracts, for more than a century, have spoken a similar language. We must refer, however, in a very especial manner to the sermon by Bishop Bradford, entitled "*Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration*;" a tract which, besides any intrinsic merit which it may possess, has several claims to public attention. It was originally published, not by the author, but *at the earnest request of the society*, and had arrived under such

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join, is he spoken of as 'born again' at all? 'Where,' Mr. M. asks, 'was Simon Magus admonished of the necessity of undergoing another new birth?' And where, I ask in return, is it said that he had undergone 'a new birth' at all? or even that he had ever been admonished concerning a 'new birth?' 'And where,' Mr. M. adds, 'is St. Paul described as regenerated, until Ananias baptized him and washed away his sins?' And where, it may be asked again, is he so described at that time? But the fact is, baptism and regeneration are so completely identified in Mr. M.'s mind, that he can no where read of a person's being baptized, but he seems to think that he also *actually reads* of his being regenerated."

high patronage at a seventh edition in the year 1810. To this seventh edition was prefixed by the society the following decisive advertisement; "This seventh edition is published at a time, when it is hoped that so *judicious* and *scriptural* a discourse may be of service to settle the minds of good Christians, in some present disputes concerning baptismal and scriptural regeneration? Such a document was of course quite decisive as to the views of the society up to the year 1810; and we cannot therefore wonder at the surprise which was felt and expressed by many of its members at discovering in the year 1813, the very year after Dr. Mant's far-famed lectures, that "so judicious and scriptural a discourse" no longer appeared on the society's list of publications. We are glad, however, to find it stated by the anonymous author of the Vindication,—the last pamphlet prefixed to this review—that the omission was merely accidental, and we are happy to understand that since the late discussions the tract has been very properly restored, or is about to be restored, to its honourable situation. The omission is stated in this Vindication to have originated with the bookseller, without instructions from the board. The tract, it is said, was not sufficiently in demand to induce him to place its title amongst the rest on the list. This circumstance, however, appears to be a very inadequate apology on the part of so very respectable a bookseller, for the decisive act of subtracting from the list of the first charitable society in the kingdom, an important document of instruction and of reference. Besides, why was it not placed, as it ought to have been, amongst those publications which are out of print, rather than silently subducted from the list? As to the circumstances of the tract being out of demand, it is equally inexplicable; for if in 1810 it had reached a seventh edition, and was then solemnly recommended by the society to its members as peculiarly adapted for the state of the times; and if, as is undeniably the case, the controversy respecting the effects of baptism has since that period become more and more known and discussed; it was surely a natural inference that the friends of the society would have eagerly applied for increasing supplies of a tract so avowedly useful for popular distribution. That the demand for it was not extinguished will however appear from the fact, that another "Church of England Tract Society," finding it no longer on the list of the Bartlett's Buildings Institution, printed it in an abridged form at their own expense, and have disposed of many thousand copies amongst their members and the community at large. Indeed the very circumstance of the Salop committee having requested Dr. Mant to publish the present tracts for popular distribution proves that they felt a want of something on the subject; a want

which might have been excellently supplied by a "judicious and scriptural tract" already on the list of publications patronized by their own society, had not that list been thus unaccountably rendered defective by the omission of Bishop Bradford's discourse.

We cannot then wonder that several of the authors whose names are prefixed to this article, connecting these circumstances with various others, and particularly with the publication of Dr. Mant's tract, so soon after the disappearance of the other, should have inferred that the suppression was not, as it now appears, "accidental;" but wilful and advised on the part of the committee, with a wish to innovate most seriously in what had been hitherto the avowed sentiment of the society on the subject of baptismal regeneration. The circumstances of the transaction *appeared* to be so connected that the public could scarcely *avoid* tracing the disappearance of the pamphlet, which it is now stated was merely the bookseller's fault, to a higher source. The scraps of evidence were completely dove-tailed, for in 1810 Bishop Bradford's tract is highly commended, and a new edition ordered;—in 1812 Dr. Mant preaches his Bampton lectures; asks "where are we taught to pray for regeneration after baptism?"—and avers that the petition in the Collect for Christmas-day is not a prayer for regeneration, but only a "retrospective" notice of our adoption," and a petition for "daily *renovation*." Now for the apparently dove-tailed counterpart: In the course of the next two years Bishop Bradford's tract is omitted by the bookseller without instruction from the board; and, unfortunately, about the very time when the board was really giving orders to change the title "Regeneration, a Prayer for it," into "*Renovation*, a Prayer for it;" the identical term used by Dr. Mant in his Bampton lectures. Again, most unluckily, to complete the whole, shortly after issues the Bampton Lecturer's tract; thus naturally, though as it now appears unjustly, inducing an opinion that the board had themselves suppressed the former to make way for the latter.

Dr. Mant's opponents will, however, rejoice with us that the tract is now restored, or will be so shortly; and whether the omission originated with the committee in general, or with the highly respectable tradesmen who publish their works, or, which appears to us the only probable supposition, with one or two polemical individuals, such as are too often successful in entwining themselves around the verdant branches of every respectable society—we will not say blasting its verdure and poisoning its fruits—it is of little importance to inquire. The tract is now, we conceive, considered as re-admitted; and we, therefore, confidently refer our readers to its pages for proof that the doctrine of the Bampton

Lecture of 1812 on the subject of regeneration is not the standard doctrine of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian knowledge.*

The anonymous Vindicator attempts to nullify the evidence of the Bishop's tract in one laconic observation; "It may be observed by the way that Bishop Bradford's tract is not at variance with the doctrine delivered in the foregoing extracts, or with the Doctrine of Dr. Mant's tract." The former part of this remark; namely, the coincidence between Bishop Bradford's tract, and the Vindicator's own extracts from the society's publications, we readily acknowledge, and thank the author for the concession, since it proves that this "judicious and scriptural discourse" is no solitary voucher, no suspicious alien covertly introduced to the society under a bishop's robes by some crafty member of what Dr. Mant calls "a party in the Church," and which, therefore, needed to be suppressed or expelled to make room for a more orthodox production. The latter part however of the remark, namely, that Dr. Mant and the Bishop are not at variance, is a less fortunate guess. As it is a mere gratuitous assertion, unconnected with any attempt at proof, and as the author is anonymous and therefore not liable to be injured by our remarks, we feel little hesitation in affirming in return that this allegation is not only untrue, but so notoriously untrue that no man who has read both the tracts in question with common honesty and common sense will venture to echo the assertion. What is the fact? The one author writes to prove that the effects of baptism, called by him baptismal regeneration, are of no avail without a subsequent change of heart, independent of baptism, and which he calls spiritual regeneration;—the other writes equally to prove that none but baptismal regeneration is necessary, or even possible in the present world. The one confines the effects of baptism to a change of privileges; the other connects this sacrament inseparably, so we understand him, with a change of heart. But we will cite a passage from the Bishop; a short one will be sufficient, and we know not that we can do better than take a part of one of those which Mr. Biddulph has selected as throwing considerable light on the language of our Church. Thus the Bishop remarks:—

"It is the way of the scriptures to speak to, and of, the visible members of the church of Christ, under such appellations and expressions

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* Of course we do not profess to vouch for every sentiment in Bishop Bradford's sermon, or any other on the subject under consideration; nor do we attempt discussing which opinion amongst the subordinate ones which mark the controversy is most correct. Whoever may be right, we have entered on the record nothing more than that *Dr. Mant is wrong*, and we shall not go beyond it.

as may seem at first hearing to imply that they are all truly righteous or holy persons: thus, the Apostles style those to whom they write, in general, saints; speak of them as sanctified in Christ Jesus, &c., and particularly St. Paul says, *they were saved by the washing of regeneration*, &c. The reason of which is, that they were visibly *by obligation and profession all this;* which was thus represented to them, the more effectually to stir them up and engage them to live according to their profession and obligation. But yet it is too evident from divers passages in their writings, and experience has confirmed to us the same thing, that, both in their time and ever since, there have been many who have enjoyed *the washing of regeneration*, whose tempers and manners have demonstrated that they were not *renewed by the Holy Ghost*."—"I take it for granted that I need not insist on any proof of this matter; but only further observe that *baptismal regeneration*, when separated from *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*, must necessarily be ineffectual to the salvation of men's souls."—"What St. Paul says of the Jews may be repeated with respect to Christians also, with a little variation of the words: he is not a Christian who is one outwardly, neither is that regeneration (namely, such as will be effectual to salvation) which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Christian who is one inwardly: *and regeneration* is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God," &c.

So much for the anonymously alleged identity of sentiment between Bishop Bradford and Dr. Mant. It is evident that this bishop takes nearly the same view of the subject with Bishop Hopkins, whom Dr. Mant so explicitly condemns; and if we were not sure that the simple reading of these few lines from Bishop Bradford is sufficient proof, we could easily select from the Bampton Lecture tract the most positive and even verbal contradictions to almost every position laid down by the writer of this "judicious and scriptural discourse."

But we are not confined to Bishop Bradford's tract; for if any of our readers feel sufficiently interested to pursue the question, they will find in Mr. Biddulph's work extracts from nearly fifty of the society's publications, of various dates, and by various authors; which if they are not all quite coincident, as they certainly are not, in their views of baptism, are all equally strangers to the peculiar parts of the tenets of Dr. Mant's. In perusing, however, these extracts, it is necessary to keep in mind the *exact* point under discussion, and not any kindred one with which it may chance to be entangled. Many of the writers adduced by Mr. Biddulph, Mr. Scott, &c. certainly did believe the doctrine of what is called baptismal regeneration, and explicitly taught it in their writings; but not one of them seems to have imagined with Dr. Mant that such high and heavenly effects of a moral kind on the heart of the recipient were necessarily connected with the exterior blessing. One chief point proved by these extracts is, that those of our

Divines, who might be most confidently quoted as coinciding with Dr. Mant in the use of the individual term regeneration, often employ the same word, in a higher signification, irrespectively of baptism: and even those who are more strict in the use of this one word, as confined to baptism, yet, which is almost tantamount and is equally inconsistent with the views of Dr. Mant, employ its synonymes with the greatest latitude as expressive of conversion. Thus, whilst they admit with Dr. Mant that a baptized person is regenerate, they deny that no other new-birth is possible in this world. Without, however, making a single reference to these extracts of Mr. Biddulph, Mr. Scott, &c. let us advert to the counter authorities brought forward by the Vindicator; which, having been selected after an "examination carefully made" of every book and writing on the society's list, must of course contain all the chief passages which can be supposed to favour most strongly Dr. Mant's positions. It should, however, be remarked that the writer of the Vindication has not ventured to make one extract from Bishop Bradford's discourse, though written expressly on the subject, and acknowledged by the society as being excellently calculated for "settling the minds of good Christians" on the doctrine of regeneration. His citations are from about twenty different authors on the society's list; but how far they support the cause of Dr. Mant may be inferred from a brief analysis.

The first extract, namely, that from the Oxford Catechism, proves nothing more than that Baptism is a *sign* of regeneration. "Baptism *setteth forth* the new birth, &c." To extracts of this class, may be reduced the quotations from Duke on Christianity, Crossman's Introduction, and some others. A second class proves rather more; namely, that in the opinion of their writers Baptism introduces us into a state of privilege, &c. but still not one word is expressed or implied of a change of heart taking place in baptism. A third class imputes to the operation of this sacrament, in addition to the before mentioned blessings, the oblivion of original sin. A fourth class admits of *baptismal* regeneration, but by no means denies the necessity of *spiritual*, or inseparably connects the latter with the reception of the former, which are the only points of dispute between Dr. Mant and *many* of his opponents. After making these numerous deductions, and about two more for passages which seem to us wholly foreign to the subject on either side, there are not perhaps above three authors left on the list which seem explicitly to avow the *peculiarities* of Dr. Mant's system; and even these perhaps speak on the assumption of persons being in reality what they are in profession, or are authors whose testimony ought not to be adduced, as having been admitted on the list so recently as to be parties

rather than witnesses respecting a point which has been some years in agitation.

We most sincerely wish, as friends to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that this anonymous Vindication had never appeared; but that some gentleman connected with the institution, and whose name would be a pledge for the veracity of his statements, had come forward with a fair and manly account of the manner in which Bishop Bradford's tract disappeared from the list, and of the other circumstances connected with the society. We are persuaded that this might be done; and we think it ought to be so; both to vindicate the board itself, and strengthen the confidence with which the distant members of the institution were accustomed to feel respecting the proceedings of their general committee, but which appears by the pamphlets before us to have been somewhat weakened of late by the events which have recently occurred. At present the cause must necessarily be prejudged, as one side only has been heard. All that has publicly appeared in vindication of the board against the charges of suppressing Bishop Bradford's tract, &c. is the last pamphlet at the head of this article; the postscript of which only bears on the questions of fact, and is verbatim as follows.

"It has been the object of the author in the preceding pages to show the agreement between the former Books and Tracts on the List of the Society, and that which it has lately adopted. But there are three facts, mentioned in the 'Address,' upon which this appears to be a favourable opportunity for saying a few words by way of explanation.

"The word 'Regeneration' in the 'Directions for a devout Behaviour,' &c. was changed into 'Renovation,' because to denominate the Collect for Christmas-Day by the former term *was an evident inaccuracy*. The prayer is, 'that we, *being Regenerate, and made the Children of God by Adoption and Grace,* may daily be renewed by his Holy Spirit:' and it harmonizes with the Baptismal Services, the Church Catechism, and the rest of the Book of Common-Prayer, in representing Regeneration as a past event.

"With respect to the non-appearance of Bishop Bradford's Tract on the Society's List, I understand the omission *to have been accidental.* The Tract was out of print; and the bookseller accordingly, without any instructions from the Board, omitted it from the List, together with another Tract, similarly circumstanced, till an increased demand should induce him to reprint them. For it should be understood, that the Society does not publish books; it only takes upon its List books already published, and supplies them for dispersion to the Members, who request them on the terms of the Society. I may observe by the way, that Bishop Bradford's Tract is not at variance with the doctrine delivered in the foregoing extracts, or with the doctrine of Dr. Mant's Tract.

"As to the circulation of Dr. Mant's Tract, I am informed that it is usual for the Society to send round to its Members, together with the Annual Report, two Tracts which have been taken upon the Catalogue in the preceding year. In conformity with this practice, Dr. Mant's Tract, together with another intituled, 'The Old Chaplain's Farewell Letter,' was ordered by the Board to be sent round with the last year's Report. If Dr. Mant's Tract was, as stated in the 'Address,' 'the *exclusive* companion of the last Annual Report,' *the exclusion must have been accidental*, wherever it took place: in some instances, I am well assured, that the other Tract accompanied it." (*Vindication*, p. 32, 33.)

This we are persuaded is not the kind of vindication that the board, had it been thought necessary, could and would have given. The whole is here reduced to "a chapter of accidents!" The first change we are told was made, because the word regeneration was *an evident inaccuracy*. This is merely begging the question, and will not satisfy those who think it was *not* an inaccuracy. The apology for the disappearance of the tract is still more unsatisfactory, because it is inconsistent with itself. "I understand the omission to have been accidental." This *coming from proper authority* would have been quite sufficient; especially as the accident might have been corrected, and indeed ought to have been so, in the next Annual Report. But after saying it was "accidental" our author, as unfortunate as the Hibernian who pleaded *two* alibis, begins to show that it was done with deliberate design, on account of the demand not being sufficiently great. The excuse respecting the bookseller is a mere subterfuge. There are many other of the society's tracts out of print, yet Messrs. Rivingtons have not suppressed them. One would imagine, from the language of this anonymous pamphlet, that the board, instead of employing an agent, had bound itself over to a master. The Vindicator, to act in a fair and dignified manner, ought to have taken one of these two grounds; either that the tract was not omitted *with the committee's knowledge* (for of this he says not a word, the whole being a shuffle about the bookseller), or that if suppressed by their authority there were sufficient grounds for the proceeding. We again state that our attachment to the institution, an institution which for a century past has done incalculable good, and is daily rising in wealth and efficiency, makes us wish that the Society were defended by an author with a name, on one of these two grounds, that so all the dark conjecture and mystery which has been connected with the affair might be done away. As to the third objection respecting the exclusive preference given to Dr. Mant's tract in circulating the last Report, it is of no importance; and since it is stated, though not from authority, that "the exclusion *must* have been accidental," we are quite satisfied. We wish,

especially on an occasion so delicate and painful as the present, to be the very reverse of captious in our objections; but we must certainly confess ourselves vexed, to see an institution which we love and admire vindicated by childish arguments, which must necessarily do it an injury without possibly conferring an advantage. Considering, however, all that has happened, we most fervently join with one of our authors in blessing God for the *fixed* articles, homilies, and liturgy, of our truly apostolic church, and which no negligence or design of a committee, no discretionary power of a bookseller, can suppress without an act of the whole united nation, and the overthrow of all that is venerable or lovely in the British code.

In conclusion, we cannot but advert with the highest approbation to the unusually kind and candid spirit in which Dr. Mant's opponents have conducted the discussion. Dr. Mant must allow that there was much in his Bampton Lectures, and still more in the circulation of them amongst the ignorant multitude, to provoke a contrary spirit. When he speaks, and that in no very gracious or conciliating terms of *a party* in the church, of "heresy," of men "being tortured into the new birth;" and especially when, having alleged his high and heavy charges against whole bodies of clergymen of no common talents, or respectability, or usefulness, because forsooth they happen to disagree with him on the subject of regeneration, he brings forward in proof, not their own writings, or speeches, or sermons, but the effusions of the "Founders of Methodism,"—he could scarcely look in return for that Christian temper, that "meekness of wisdom," that urbanity, that patience, that candour, which he has had the good fortune to experience. We for ourselves shall think it happy if we have been half as successful as Mr. Biddulph and Mr. Scott in keeping the language, in which we express ourselves concerning the doctrine and controversial style of Dr. Mant distinct from that which we rejoice to use respecting his personal character. So highly indeed do we think of his reputation, that we believe it was the chief means of procuring admission for his tract, which on that account was suffered to pass muster without undergoing that strict examination which might otherwise have been employed, and which we presume would have led to a rejection. We trust that for the peace of the church Dr. Mant will desire his tract to be suppressed;*—we are very sure he would do so, if he could really perceive those errors in it which others think they have discovered. We should rejoice to find that we ourselves, and the numerous authors who have re-

* While this Article was passing through the press, we understand that the Tract has been withdrawn. ED.

viewed his work, have mistaken his meaning, and attached more importance to particular expressions, than in his cooler moments he intended them to convey. If, however, the tracts are still retained, he surely can have no objection to expunge those parts of them which have given offence to all parties, even to his own, as being more proper for him who makes a deistical sport of the saving doctrines and peculiar expressions of our blessed religion, than for a Christian divine, who, in animadverting on a particular error, should anxiously avoid doing an injury to the great and common cause. We allude to such passages as that in page 51 and 52, also in 77, &c. &c.—but will not put the author to the pain of quoting them, as he must long ago have repented of levities of expression (to say the least) which would have come more appropriately from the pen of Shaftesbury than of Dr. Mant. For ill-temper, for want of candour, for unchristian enmity to opponents, and for the least semblance of profaneness, there can be no excuse in any author, however high his character, or excellent his argument, or sincere his own conviction.

We now close our remarks. We fear we have pleased no *party*, nor have we attempted to do so. Our critical privileges we consider as inviolable, and for the due exercise of them our responsibility before God and man is too great to allow us to surrender truth to any authority however exalted.

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C. Baldwin, Printer,
New Bridge-street, London.